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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



VOL. LXIX.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.).

(Nos. I AND II.—1900.)

EDITED BY THE  
HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

~~~~~  
“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.” SIR WM JONES.  
~~~~~  
~~~~~

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Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of papers for the *Journal*, Pt. I, are particularly requested to adhere to it in their contributions.

#### A. FOR THE DĒVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET, AND FOR ALL ALPHABETS RELATED TO IT.

|      |       |       |       |       |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|
| अ a, | आ ā,  | इ i,  | ई ī,  | उ u,  | ऊ ū, | ऋ ṛ, | ॠ ṝ, | ऌ ḷ, | ॡ ḹ, | ए e, | ऐ ē, |
| ओ o, | औ āu, | ऐ ai, | औ au, | ँ ṁ,  | ँ ṁ, | ँ ṁ, | ँ ṁ,  | ँ ṁ, | ँ ṁ,  | ँ ṁ, | ँ ṁ, |
| क k, | ख kh, | ग g,  | घ gh, | ङ ṅ   |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |
| च c, | छ ch, | ज j,  | झ jh, | ञ ñ   |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |
| ट t, | ठ ṭh, | ड ḍ,  | ढ ḍh, | ण n   |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |
| त t, | थ th, | द d,  | ध dh, | न n   |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |
| प p, | फ ph, | ब b,  | भ bh, | म m   |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |
| य y, | र r,  | ल ḷ,  | व v,  | (ळ ḷ) |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |
| श ṣ, | ष ṣ,  | स s,  | ह h.  |       |      |      |       |      |       |      |      |

In the above the *virāma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness.

In Modern Vernaculars only; *ड़* may be represented by *r*, and *ढ़* by *rh*.

*Avagraha* is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus *सो* *सि* *sō 'pi*. *Visarga* is represented by *h*, *Jihvāmūliya* by *ḥ*, and *Upadhmanīya* by *ḥ*. *Anusvāra* is represented by *m*, thus *संस्पर्ग* *saṁsarga*, and *anunāsika* by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus *आँ* *ā̃*, *औँ* *aũ*, and so on. The *udātta* accent is represented by the sign ' and the *svarita* by ^ . Thus, *अग्निः* *agnih̄*, *जानिता* *janitā̃*, *क्वा* *kvā̃*, *कन्या* *kanyā̃*. The *anudātta* accent may be represented by ` . Thus, *ते अवर्धन्ते* *tē àvardhanta*.

#### B. FOR PERSIAN (INCLUDING ARABIC WORDS IN PERSIAN) AND HINDŪSTĀNĪ.

(The system is not applicable to Arabic when pronounced as in Arabic-speaking countries) :—

| Vowels. | Consonants. | Sounds only found in Hindūstānī. |
|---------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| ā a     | ب b         | ب bh                             |
| ā ā     | پ p         | پ ph                             |
| ī i     | ت t         | ت th                             |
| ī ī     |             | ت t                              |
| ē ē     |             | ت ṭh                             |
| ī n     | ن ṣ         |                                  |
| ū ū     | ج j         | ج jh                             |
| ō ō     | ح c         | ح ch                             |

| Vowels. | Consonants.                                                                         | Sounds only found in<br>Hindūstānī. |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ای ai   | ح h                                                                                 |                                     |
| او au   | خ <u>kh</u>                                                                         |                                     |
|         | د d                                                                                 | د dh                                |
|         |                                                                                     | ڈ d̥                                |
|         |                                                                                     | ڌ dh                                |
|         | ذ z                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | ر r                                                                                 | ر ʀ                                 |
|         |                                                                                     | ڙ ʀh                                |
|         | ز z                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | ژ <u>zh</u>                                                                         |                                     |
|         | س s                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | ش <u>sh</u>                                                                         |                                     |
|         | ص s̄                                                                                |                                     |
|         | ض z̄                                                                                |                                     |
|         | ط t̄                                                                                |                                     |
|         | ظ z̄                                                                                |                                     |
|         | ع ʿ                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | غ <u>gh</u>                                                                         |                                     |
|         | ف f                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | ق q                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | ک k                                                                                 | ک kh                                |
|         | گ g                                                                                 | گ gh                                |
|         | ل l                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | م m                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | ن n                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | و when representing <i>anunāsiḳa</i> in Dēva<br>Nāgarī, by ~ on the preceding vowel |                                     |
|         | و w (or rarely v)                                                                   |                                     |
|         | ه h                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | ی y                                                                                 |                                     |
|         | Hamzah ʾ (where necessary) ʾ                                                        |                                     |

The **ج** of the article **ا** in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدولة Iqbālu-d-daulah.

*Tanwīn* may be rendered by *n*—e. g., *ittijāqan*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā*.

Final **س** need not be written in Persian and Hindūstānī words, but should be written in Arabic words.



# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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No. I.—1900.

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*Jangnāmah of Farrukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh, a Hindī poem by Çrīdhar (Murlīdhar) Brahman, of Prāg.—By WILLIAM IRVINE, late of the Bengal Civil Service.*

[Read April, 1899.]

The following long poem of 1630 lines, on the above subject, was lately traced for me by Maulvī ‘Abdu-l-‘azīz of Bhitri, through a native of the same place now resident in Benares, Bābū Rādhā Kīṣṇ Dās. It was found in the library of the late Bābū Hariṣ Cand of Maḥallah Caukhambah in the city of Benares. For this gentleman see No. 581 of Grierson’s “Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān,” (1889). After four months’ efforts permission to make a copy was obtained through the influence of C. L. M. Eales, Esq., C.S., District and Sessions Judge, to whom I am much indebted. A Hindi copy was made for me by the Judge’s Registration Muharrir in his leisure hours, and one in the Persian character by M. ‘Abdu-l-‘azīz.

The work is so long as to debar its reproduction in full, nor is it throughout of equal interest. While he is expatiating at more or less length on the heroic virtues of the nobles and officers who have gathered round Farrukhsiyar’s standard, the poet allows his narrative to stand still; and as a consequence, in spite of the copious vocabulary at his command, he repeats himself considerably, and the epithets soon begin to recur with “damnable iteration.” I therefore propose to submit to

the Society no more than extracts (680 lines in all) giving the narrative, and including at least one specimen of each kind of verse. For the rest I append an alphabetical index of the persons, tribes and places introduced.

There are a few, though not many, unhistorical statements. For instance, (lines 31, 32.) ‘Abdullāh Khān is made out to have been at Patnah when he was really at Allāhābād; in lines 39–42 Mir Jumla's asserted opposition to Jahāndār Shāh is pure myth; and the dates in lines 883–886 are hopelessly wrong. On the other hand, some of the details as to localities add to our previous knowledge, and the copious use of actual names shows, to my mind, that the author either was present in the army or wrote immediately afterwards.

In several instances the introduction of tribal names is not only ingenious but effective. Here is one example :

1. 1133. *Rajpūt sohāe sāje āe, Hādā, Gaur, Sombaṁsī*  
*Caumhān, Caṁdenṁle, Bais, Baghele, Gaharwār au Raghubaṁsī*  
*Kachwāha, Sulamkī, Haihayabaṁsī, Sirmete, Parihāraṁsī,*  
*Gaṁdharb Sīmh Rājā saṁjo, dal, Buṁṁlelo, Sūrajbaṁsī.*

The kinds of verse used are thirteen in number and are as follows, stated in their order of frequency. *Kabit*, lines 1109–1248, 1465–1576, 1579–1630 (304 lines), *Bilās Chand*, 895–1108 (214), *Pādāṅkul Chand* 171–376 (206), *Gītā Chand*, 695–894 (200), *Hārī Gītā Chand*, 1309–1464 (156) *Madhubhār Chand*, 423–548 (126), *Doharā*, 1–20, 39–70, 389–422, 637–656 (108), *Harī Gītā*, 71–170 (100), *Bhujang Prayāt Chand*, 549–636, (88), *Hirā Chand*, 1249–1308 (60), *Ardhik Chand*, 657–694 (38), *Tomar Chand*, 21–38 (18) *Chappai Chand*, 377–388, (12), total 1630 lines. As there seems some irregularity or oversight in the numbering of the stanzas, I have substituted an enumeration by lines.

On the evidence of the work now brought forward, two emendations may be suggested in the work by Mr. Grierson above referred to. First, the entries No. 156 (Murlidhar) and No. 157 (Çridhar) on p. 65 may be united into one of Çridhar *alias* Murlidhar. Secondly, the date assigned to him, 1683 A.D., may be made at least thirty years later, for the present work, at the very earliest, belongs to 1713 A.D.

---

In the pursuit of meanings, sometimes hard to catch, I have treated the poet's spelling with scant respect, making aspirated and unaspirated, dental and cerebral letters, *l*'s and *r*'s, freely interchangeable. I have, in fact, chosen "whatever suits the line."

---

Since I began this paper, I have received a second poem by the same poet, a sort of supplement or continuation of the *Jang-nāmah*. It is on 133 folios, and at a rough computation reaches 3560 lines in length. As it is made up of nothing but laudatory stanzas on various nobles, I shall content myself with stating the headings into which it is divided:—

|              |                                     |        |     |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------|-----|
| fol. 1a.     | Ratan Caud ke Kabita                | verses | 15  |
| 3b.          | Rāo Ras ke Kabita, Phulwāri barnan, | ,,     | 9   |
| 5a.          | Kabita Bahādur Jī ke, Phāg barnan   | ,,     | 12  |
| 9b.          | Māhārājā Chabile Rām ke Kabita      | ,,     | 18  |
| 11a.         | Mir Mushrif ke Kabita               | ,,     | 11  |
| 13a.         | Rājā Jaswant ke Kabita              | ,,     | 5   |
| 16a.         | Kabita Sher Muḥammad                | ,,     | 30  |
| 20b.         | Kabita Mahārājā Chabile Rām ke }    | ,      | 36  |
| 26b.         | Quṭbu-l-mulk Ḥasan 'Ali Khān }      |        |     |
| 27b.         | Ḥusain 'Ali Khān ke Kabita          | ,,     | 43  |
| 48           | [No heading]                        | ,,     | 167 |
| 71b.         | Kabita Muṣliḥ Khān ke               | ,,     | 100 |
| 82           | [No heading]                        | ,,     | 100 |
| 95a.         | [Doharā—No heading]                 | ,,     | 88  |
| 104a.        | Ḡri Rām Jī                          | ,,     | 100 |
| 116a.        | [No heading]                        | ,,     | 51  |
| 123a.        | [No heading—Stanzas 37-52 wanting]  | ,,     | 84  |
| 132b.        | [No heading]                        | ,,     | 2   |
| Total verses |                                     |        | 871 |

After looking through this portentous production, one feels appalled at the enormous facility with which Hindi verse can be written.

## दोहरा ।

- 5      श्रीधर सुरलीधर उरुफ दिजवर वसत प्रयाग ।  
रुचिर कथा यह शाहि की बख्खो कथन अनुराग ॥  
फरुकसियर से शाहि को वरनो प्रवल प्रबंध ।  
अरु करतूतै सवन की जे अमीर समकंध ॥  
चीठी चली महाजनी भई एका एक चाह ।  
10      झाड़ि देहें सुरलोक को गए बहादुर शाह ॥

- सुनौ घवरि एकवारगौ फरुकसियर उदार ।  
 राषि फौज एकलंगारहीं चलिये यहै बिचार ॥  
 बकसी आजम खान को कीन्हो ऊकुम बोलाइ ।  
 फौज राषिये जाय अब जेती राषी जाइ ॥  
 15 फेरि घवरि दिन दसक में सांची पऊची आइ ।  
 जुलुफिकार उमराउ सब मिले मौजदिहि जाइ ॥  
 जुलुफिकार घां फोरि सब फौज दगा किय संग ।  
 नातरु वैसे वलिन्द सो को जीतत सफ जंग ॥  
 मौजदीन सिर छत्र धरी कुतुवा कुटिल पठाइ ।  
 20 चल्यो दिल्ली को चऊं दिसां लिधि फरमान पढ़ाइ ॥

### तोमर छंद ।

- यह घवरि पऊंचा तल्य  
 तब फरुकसियर समल्य  
 सिगरे बोलाइ अमीर  
 सब सो छपा करि बीर  
 25 सब सो दियो फरमाइ  
 अब फौज राषऊ जाइ  
 यह ऊकुम करि सुभ वधूत  
 धरि छत्र वैठो तघूत  
 सब शाहि के दिलसोज  
 30 तब लगे राषन फौज  
 सजि अबदुल्लह घान  
 किय प्रथम कोपि पायान  
 ऊब शाहि को इरशाद  
 पऊंचो इलाहावाद  
 35 सूवा व भै सरकार  
 सब किधो अमल उदार  
 रनवां कुरावल वान  
 करि रह्यो कायम थान ॥



## दोहरा ।

- तह मीर जुमिला बीर बुद्धि गंभीर बाजु विसाल ।  
 40 मड़ि रह्यो मौज्जुद्दीन की कटक गहि करवाल ।  
 सूवा सवै मनसूव वाजवि डारी चाल ।  
 अरु ग्राहि को सिंगरी हकीकति लिखत तब तत काल ॥  
 तब मीर जुमिला बीर अरज लिख्यो सुपत्र उदार  
 इन सैद राजे घान कीनो प्राग सूवेदार  
 45 वह चल्यो साजि हिरौल अगे सैद अवुलगफार  
 पौछे पठायो महादलु दै एजदीन कुमार ॥  
 यह मीर जुमिला बीर सब अरज पऊँचौ तथ  
 ग्राहनग्राह जहां पनाह सु फरकसियर समथ  
 सुनिके अमीरन ओर हेरो कोपि कै समरथ  
 50 बोल्यो हुसेन अलीय खां रनवां कुरा गजहत्य ॥  
 एकबाल ग्राहनग्राह को इस में न आन की आन  
 उन को अकेलोवै सैयद अवदुल्लह घान  
 तिन को क्रिपा करि वेग सो लिख भेजियो फरमान  
 वह मारि फौज विदारि दल रन मारि है घमशान ॥  
 55 ग्राहनग्राह लिख्यो जवे फरमान पऊँचो आइ  
 तब सैद अवदुल्लह घां लीनो सुअदव वजाइ  
 वह ऊकम सिर धरि दै नगारो सु मिरि प्रभु को पाइ  
 डेरा सु आलल चंद करि अरि राह रोक्यो जाइ ॥  
 फुनि आपु स्थिर करि रह्यो घानो गह्यो प्राग करार  
 60 भाई पठयो जंग को सब संग दै सरदार  
 सै सुव सज्यो सैफुदी अली घां वंक वीर उदार  
 साज्यो निजामुद्दी अली घां कोपि गहि कर तरवार ॥  
 साज्यो सिराजुद्दी अली घां वीर वलवान  
 फिर सज्यो राजा रतन चंद गथंद गहि किरवान

- 65 फ़िरि मीर मुहसन घान साज्यो वीर अनवर घान  
साज्यो समुदर खान अरु इदगार वेग जवान ॥  
मीरजा वली बहुराम वेग चढो गहै कर चाप  
जेहि वाप वरकंदाज घां सु क़िताव पायो आप  
अरु सज्यो ल्यो दरवेशली घां सैद वीरत क़ाप  
70 साजे वली सरदार केते सतु दारन दाप ॥

## हरिगीत ।

- इत अरे आलम चंद उत कोहउन देरा कियो  
भिनसार होत दुहं दिसा दुहं दलपती डंका दियो  
इत ए चढ़े उत वे वढ़े मन बढ़े दुजं वागैं लियो  
दल भार सों विकरार महि रजधान सूरजो पियो ॥  
75 तव भयो देखादेख दुजं दल दुजं दल चापैं चढ़ी  
वाजी वंदूषैं रहकले हथनाल घूम घटा मढ़ी  
तव वीजु चमकनि भमकि ल्यो समसेर म्याननि ते कढ़ी  
लागा भराभर नानु गटपट रुधिर की सलिता बढ़ी ॥  
ललकारि हांक निदंत सावंत दपट दुजं दल धावहीं  
80 गरवी मगरवी कर गहे भुंकि भपटि चोट चलावहीं  
किन जात धाई उठाइ एकिन अटल अरि वरआवहीं  
दि पहर उसला पसल भटरन सिंधु पारन पावहीं ॥  
× × × × × ×  
99 यह वारहैं के वालकनि को लघो अति गाढ़ो हियो  
100 सैयद सिराजुद्दी अली घां तव सह्यादति कों लियो  
हरघंत ह्वरनि हाथ को पुर प्रेस सो प्याला पियो  
करि हाल निमकहलाल ओप सिपाह सूरनि को दियो ॥  
यह सोर भो चऊं ओर ते दौरे सवे सरदारहैं  
तित डारि ढालैं टारि कूटैं फ़ारि जिरह अगारहैं

- 105 अरु छोरि वषतर तोरि म्याननि गह्यो करनि कटारहैं  
चमके चहं नेजामुनै भूमके घनी करवारहैं ॥  
इमि दौरके चहं ओर ते पर फौज घेरी जायके  
तहं तीर वरका वान गोली अंग अंग रअंगाइ के  
समसेर वार भराभरी कर कर कटारनि घाइ के
- 110 भुकि भूपति भुरमुट घेलि अरि दल दियो महिवि थरायके ॥  
लोटै कितै भूमे परे कोऊ घाइ सो घूमें घरे  
कोऊ भये सुरक्षावत डर सो ते विना मारे मरे  
सरदार अवदुलगाफार के अंग अंग घन घाएनि भरे  
रन भूमि में पायो नहीं जानै कहां किहिं लै धरे ॥
- 115 इमि कूटि भटकनि कटक लूटन लगे दरवर वैदरा  
जिहि पाय में पनही नहीं भै खार ते ऊपैदरा  
वाजे जसी ले ग्राइनामे धमक सो धमकै घरा  
फरमै फतूहनि लै फिरे जस जग्यो सांवत सैदरा ॥  
कुतुबुलुसलुक सों तव मिजा मंजूर अरज सवै कियो
- 120 वाजे नगारे गहगहे आनंद सो हरख्यो हियो  
सुनिकै सिराजुद्दीं अली खां की दसा गुस्सा पियो  
आँधै करेरी एठि मोक्कनि दांत ओठनि में दियो ॥  
बोले सु अवदुल्लाह खां अव मैं महारन माडि हों  
सिगरी पकांहीं फौज को कर कर कटारनि कांडि हों
- 125 आए जेते सरदार कै तेहि प्राण डांडनि डांडि हों  
सब सो सिराजुद्दीं अली खां कै वीअर लेकै कांडि हों ॥  
रनघेत में कुरुघेत सों तरवारि मार मचाइ हों  
भुजजोर तें परओर के सब जोवते गहिल्याइ हों  
तव ग्राहि फरुकसियर को वंदा वनैत कहाइ हों
- 130 [ Line wanting in original ] ॥

× × × × × ×

- 139 दिन ओर कुतुबलुमुलुक बोले बोले साहेब राय सो  
 140 लिखि अरज शाहन शाह को सब भेद बात वनाए सो  
 भई ऊसेन अली थां को लिखो सब समझाइ सो  
 जिहिं आई ह्यां एलगार पऊचे साज फौज उपाए सो ॥  
 सुनि लिख्यो साहेब राय माथुर अरज पत्र तहां तवै  
 सफ जंग की सब बात जैसी भई जौन जहां जवै  
 145 फटनि पक्काहीं फौज की आदम अमीरन की  
 औ फिरि लिखो ऊसेन अलीय थां जू कों सवै ॥  
 × × × × × ×  
 159 यह अरज पत्र सवे लिख्यो पटना सो पुऊंचो जाइ के  
 160 पहिले ऊसेन अलीय थां लीन्हो लिखा सुधु पाइ के  
 बांचो सिराजुदी अली थां की दसा पक्ताइ के  
 रिस घंटी अरज पछो सो आपुहि शाहि के ठिकआई के ॥  
 बोल्यो कौनो अमीरल उम्मराव सु अरज शाहनशाह सो  
 रिस रहति रोक्यो नाहि क्यों हूं अनुज को दुष दाह सो  
 165 पाऊं ऊकुम इलगार पऊंचो जंग जैतक चाह सो  
 ललकारि कै कु कु करि फेरों एजदीनहि राह सो ॥  
 तव ऊकुज कीन्हो शाहि दिन द्वै अब तहमुल कीजिए  
 बांके वनैत अमीर तिन को विदा आगे दीजिए  
 अब ऐजुदी सो रिस कहां ततवीर सो गहि लीजिए  
 170 फिर मोजुदीन पर साजि के चतुरंग फौज चलि लीजिए ॥

### पादांकुल छंद ।

और रोज भिनसार भयो जव  
 सज्यो शाहि दीवान पास तव  
 मिसिल मिसिल ठाढ़े अमीर सब  
 लिखो मुरतुजा थां वलि अब

- 175      सैद मुरतुजा षां वढ़ि आयो  
 साहनशाह ता सों फरमायो  
 फौज साज चाह्यो चित लीजे  
 प्रथम पक्काहे पयानो कीजे ॥  
 ऊकुम होत ही चले महावल
- 180      सैद मुरतुजा षान साजि दल  
 कूच कूच यलगार पयानो  
 कियो वहादुरपुर थिर थानो  
 हजरति ऊकुम फेरि यह कियो  
 विदा सु आजम षां को दियो  
 ×      ×      ×      ×
- 347      अध सकल मीर अमीर सज्जिय  
 अरसला षां कों हुकुम किय  
 पेशषानो लै पयानहु
- 350      कूच एलगार ठीक गेनहु  
 अरसला षां ऊकुम धारो  
 चढ्यो सजि दल द नगारो  
 पेशषानो लै पयानेउं  
 पांच कोस पयान ठानेउं
- 355      फजिर शाहनशाह साजेउ  
 सकल वृंद गयंद गाजेउ  
 वजी नौवति गह गह्वी तव  
 भई नौवत रावरी अव  
 घोर धौंसा धनि धकारत
- 360      फतेह फतेह मनु पुकारत  
 हो ऊ हो करनाइ बाजत  
 शाहनशाह हि सगुन राजत



- सगुन सो सुरनाइ वाजी  
सिद्धि राम करीजु साजी  
365 भाख भाखव भांभ भनकत  
घनन लागिहि घंट घनघकत  
फ़ीलवार निशान भहरत  
मनहु अगा फ़तूह फ़हरत  
आत पच अनूप राजत  
370 इंद्र सों प्रभुता विराजत  
भालरी मुकु ता सु लच्छक  
मनऊ तारा कच रक्षक  
आफ़ताववी हासकें कर  
मनहु रक्षक संग दिनि अर  
375 तोग सुंदर माह माही  
सगुन की मनु देत ग्वाही

### छपै छंद ।

- फ़रकसियर समत्य शाह शाहां दल सज्जेउ  
पखर पखरि वज्जल वारवारन गल गज्जेउ  
श्रीधर धौसा धमक चोर दसहं दिसान भर  
380 चमकत नेजै फ़हरवान वैरघ निशानवर  
भुव दलत मलत जेहि दिसि चलतका सोर चहु चका ऊव  
अतिअक्क धुंधुरित धरि मढ़ि आगताव धुवलोक धुव ॥  
कौन सवल उत्थपिहि काहि निवल वल थपिहि  
केहि महीप को मुलुक मीड़ि काहि समपिहि  
385 काहि पाए गज रजि करिहि केहि पील पिठ्ठी पर  
घग धनी केहि थरिहि दरिहि केहि तमकि तेग तर  
अवहि मंडिहि घंडि सो केहि वढ़ गढ़ गढ़ पति थरथरेउ  
सजि ग़हनशाह फ़रकसियत सो जव श्रीधर हय पखरेउ ॥

## दोहा ।

- इमि सजि साह्नशा जू कियो कोपि पयान  
 390 एलगारनि के कूच कों कियोहि एंठिक ठान ॥  
 कूच कूच एलगार सो मजुरां पज्जे आई  
 आजम बां सजि फौज सो दरसे प्रभु के पाइ ॥  
 साजि कहादुरपुर मिल्यो सैद मुरतजा घान  
 उतरि वनारस ईद करि एलगार कियेउ पयान ॥  
 395 आनि वसेरे बीज जंसी कियो मुकाम  
 आर संग महावली हटि गे निमकहराम ॥  
 सयद अवदुल्लह बां की मुलाजिमति आई  
 की मुलाजिमति संगही जेतक संग सहाइ ॥  
 हाथी घोने पालकी टंकी फिरंगी कोर  
 400 सरोपाउ सरपेच सज जेगा मनसव ओर ॥  
 शाह्नशाहि दीनो तिने कुतुबमुलुक किताव  
 दियो इजाफो जौन जेहि मनसव को असवाव ॥  
 सेतु बांधि मुरसरि उतरि प्राग सु पश्चिम ओर  
 चारि मुकाम तहां किए आगे दौरादौर ॥  
 405 मिल्या तिते फरजंद बां जगतजासु किरवान  
 सवल सलावति बां मिल्यो सेफ घान वलवान ॥  
 करे निकट महथा मिल्यो आई क्वीले राम  
 चारि हजारौ राज पद तिन्ह को भयो सलाम ॥  
 अली असगर घान जू मिल्यो आनि हथिग्राम  
 410 चौ हजारि मनसव लह्यो घान जमान नाम ॥  
 पूरव क्यो कुवरपुर विंदुकी पश्चिम ओर  
 बीच शाहि डेरा कियो भयो दुवन दल सोर ॥  
 पश्चिम फतिहाबाद तजि पूरव विंदुकी ग्राम  
 एजदीन देरा दियो स कटक किते मुकाम ॥

- 415 धार वेद घंदक घनी कटक चारिहं कोट  
 चुने अरावे अनगने भरौ फौज तिहिं ओट ॥  
 दुह्र महावल फौज सों तीन कोस के बीच  
 रची बीच रनभूमि तित मची दंति मट कौच ॥  
 शाहिजादो हिरउल कियो दलपति शाहनशाह  
 420 सजे दलपति जित शाहि एते कीन्हे तित चाह ॥  
 अवदुल्लाह थां बंकरन हुसेनली थां माल  
 रन थंभ आगे भए कुतुब कू डरीवाल ॥

### मधुभार छंद ।

- सज्यो अवदुल्लाह थां जित  
 सज ज़सेन अलीय थां तित  
 425 तित इनातुल्लाह थां सजि  
 रिस शुजाएति अली थां रजि ॥  
 × × × ×

### भुजंग प्रयात छंद ।

- 549 दुह्र ओर साजे महामत दंती  
 550 सजे पखरो लख की पूर पंती  
 गड़ा दार घेरें सिरि कड़वंटा  
 गजै मेघमानो वजै घोर घंटा ॥  
 घटा श्याम सौ दीह तांविं अधि मापे  
 परां पखरै भलरी भूल भापै  
 555 सजे पखरों भखरों लख घोरे  
 मनो भालु जी के रथी जोर जोरे  
 चले चाह सों चंचले चाल वांकी  
 दस्यई तुरकी तजीले ईशरैकी  
 करै पौन सी पौन की पायदारी

- 560 अरव्वी गरव्वी घुरीले धंधारी ॥  
 नचैं ताट की से पटी के चन्हावी  
 कक्की पीठ पूठों पले नीररावी  
 सजे संदली औ समुंदे सुरंगे  
 कवूतो वने फूलवारी सुअंगे ॥
- 565 जसे वोज संजाफ नीले हरीले  
 मुसुकी सजे पंचकल्यान पीले  
 वड़े डील के कान छोटे नवीने  
 सु चौरी खुरी चाकरे जामु सीने ॥  
 वड़े चंचले नैन के मुख सांचे
- 570 घुरीं वाल भूमै धनी दोष बांचे  
 सजे साजियों चारिहं ओर जोधा  
 सजे साज लोहा वटो क्रत क्रोधा ॥  
 पिले चारिहं ओर सूवे गरुरी  
 जिन्हों वार कै सजु की फौज चूरी
- 575 कहां लोकहों फौज में सूर राजे  
 किते कों वलीले वंदूधै गराजें ॥  
 सवै सूरिवां वीर बांके ब नैते  
 सजे साज बाजी चढे हांक दैते  
 कटे फौज सों दांकि घोरे धपावैं
- 580 किते कहं कै कैसु भालैं फिरावैं ॥  
 लख्यो दूसरी ओर गाढ़ीं अनोको  
 चढ्यो कोपि कै पूत दिल्लीं धनी को  
 दुहं ओर ठाढ़ी चमूं वाइरों कें  
 दुहं ओर के फौज ठाढे विलोकैं ॥
- 585 सु फजुकसियर शाहि के जोर सूवे  
 पिले चारहं ओर साजे अजूवे

- वजी दीह धौंसानि आवाज अच्छी  
चहं घां लधी जे बरच्छी बरच्छी ॥  
कुटे ल्यों अरावे उठी धूरि भारि  
590 धुंवां की उठी धुंधुरारी अंध्यारी  
वटै रोसनौ ऊपरी वान कूटै  
मनो आसमानौ महालूक टूटे ॥  
पिले चोट कों घोट कें चारि फेरे  
पिले ओपची तोपची तोपो घनेरे  
595 चहं फौज की वीर ता की वड़ाई  
चमूं सज का चूर कै कै हटाई ॥  
वली उतरी फौज के गवएठे  
महा मोरचा मीड़ि के पेलि पेटे  
लख्यो एजु वार कूटो दुवारो  
600 परी भाग भाग्यो तकै कोह नारो ॥  
सभारै न घोरे रथी हेम हाथी  
सन्हारे न कोऊ ककू संग साथी  
किहं छाड़ि घोरैनि डाखो हथ्यारी  
किहं भागि सों आगेही पथ धारो ॥  
605 करे कोऊ हा हा परै कोऊ पैआं  
चले रामरेंगा व भैभ्मा व कैभा  
घुसे वाहरौ भागि केते निकामौ  
कौते को घरे वंदि नामीनि नामी ॥  
कौते को सुगुमानी गरूरैनि छाए  
610 वटै हौसला के तिया संगल्याए  
तिन्है छोड़ि भागे कुटी चाल वांकी  
गए फूटि ताले फटी हौसनाकी ॥  
सुरोवै असीले फसीले सहेली



- 615      पुकरिँ घोदा आप दाकोन मेली  
 गरो ढावरो भांकि भौवै सुरोसै  
 सवै मौजदी कों भरें नैन कोसै ॥  
 कहूँ वैदराकी वड़ी धूमधार्ई  
 चहूँ लुंच लुंचानि लै आगि लाई  
 वरै छांहंवनी छांहं डेरा सु भारी
- 620      महा भीम फैली धूवां की अध्यारी ॥  
 कहूँ आंच के तेज सों लाल फूटै  
 कहूँ वैदरा वीर वाजार लूटै  
 कहूँ वांस की गांठि फूटै पटकै  
 चटाचट्ट पाषाण भारी पटकै ॥
- 625      लुटै केसरौ दाष दास्यौ कोहारो  
 लुटै चार कस्तूरी का घत्र सारो  
 कहूँ होत मोती वरें चूर चूना  
 कहूँ लैट लुटेरें करें मोट दूना ॥  
 जरै चार आचार चूरी चिरोंजी
- 630      कहूँ कौल गटे कसेर करौंजी  
 जरें औ लुटें चीर चीरा जरैके  
 परे भोट के मोट लूटें परैके ॥  
 भए वैदरा जौहरी लूटि लटें  
 क्किटे ज्वारिलों मोट मुत्तानि क्कटै
- 635      किती तीजरै हार हारट्ट लागी  
 किती कामिनी दामिनी रूप भागी ॥

## दोहा ।

एहि विधि दल सब भंगियो एजुदी को जान  
 औधर कवि आगु सुनो अब सब करो वषाण ॥

- अरज कियो इमत्याज घान प्रभु को पाइ प्रसाद  
 640 शाहनशाहि यह साहिबै फतेह ममारम वाद ॥  
 कियो घान दौरा ऊतो उन को अंग हर जंग  
 नौसेरी घां नंद इत सु हो हिरौल रन रंग ॥  
 अवदुलसमुद अलीअ घां राजे घान अमीर  
 सादिक लुतफुल्लाह घां दिलदिलेर घां बीर ॥  
 645 मौजदीन के ए ऊते इतवारी उमराइ  
 हजरति के एकवाल सो रहे न रन ठहराइ ॥  
 एजदीन को जवरई लै सब गए पराइ  
 पान घइ आए हुते पानि पगए गंवाई ॥  
 हाथी घोरे सुतर रथ महल वहल सुषपाल  
 650 तोप नगारे रहकले सुतरनाल हथनाल ॥  
 मोहर जवाहिर को गने ढेर ठौर ह्वी ठौर  
 ठाढे कुटे सराइचे करी वैदरनि दौर ॥  
 तहं ठाढे सुमताज घां हजरति निकट बोलाई  
 शाहनशाह कीनो हुकुम तुम देघो अव जाइ ॥  
 655 मदमोकल हाथी तुरै तोप नगारो लेऊ  
 ओर लूटि मे जो लहै तोन ताहि को देऊ ॥

### अधिक छंद ।

- करि फतेह शाहनशाह जू  
 हिय भयो परम उक्ताह जू  
 बैठे प्रभात देवान कै  
 660 सब बोलियो सनमान कै ॥  
 तहं वजत नौवति घोरह्वै  
 रह दीप दीप दोरह्वै  
 किय कंचु की इतमाम को  
 आए अमीर सलाम को ॥

665 मुकता जवाहिर वारही  
 अंजुरी निलै फिटकारहीं  
 फुंनि भांति भांतिन्द नजरि दै  
 लै मिसिल ठाढे भें सवै ॥

कुतुबलमुलुक अरजी भय  
 670 उमराय वोलि दु बोलाए  
 मिलिओ मुजफ्फर घां तहां  
 कौनी कपा सहेव जहां ॥  
 दीनो किताव धुरां धुरी  
 घानै जहांन वहादुरी

675 मिल्यो रहमति घां बली हद  
 मुत्तहौवर घां लह्यौ पद ॥  
 फिरि शाहि वकशिस साजियो  
 सिगरे अमीर नेवाजियो  
 हाथी महामद के दए  
 680 घोरे इरांक जयनए ॥

सुभ सरोपांए भलाभली  
 किय कनक वार सभा थली  
 जेगा कलंगी भल भलै  
 सरपेच साज भले भले ॥

685 समसेर भूषन जाहिरी  
 सज करो फौज जवाहिरी  
 तेहि भूमि चारि मुकामु कै  
 सब कटक कों विसरामु कै ॥  
 फिरि कूच कूच लगाए को

690 जहं शहर शाहि मदार को  
 पज्जंयो तहां दलु वीर को  
 किय दरस परसन पीर को ॥

दिन दस वसे तेहि थान जू  
किय मेहर गरम देवान जू ॥

[Only two lines to this verse in the original.]

## गीता छंद ।

- 695 फिर मीर जुमिला वीर उत सों अरजपत्र पठाइयो  
कासीद कागद कर लए दरवार द्वारे आइयो  
मुमताज घान लिषान लै सुव ग्राहि पै पञ्चाइयो  
वह लै तकरख घां तहां मजमून वांचि सुनाइयो ॥  
आकिल वकील वजीर सैयद अवदुल्लह घान को  
700 काएथ सिरोमनि दास राए महीप सांडी घान को  
मिलि रह्यो मजिलिसि मौजूदी की सचक तत्व विधान को  
उन लिष्यो कुतुबलमुलुक को सब भेद जो परवान को ॥  
इत मौजदी मगरूर मस्त अल मस्त अमलै खाइ कै  
सिगरे कलांवत ह्वै अमीर भरे रह्यो चितचाइ कै  
705 आनैन आनै मननि में फलेरहैं इका भाइ कै  
माही मरातव अलम पंजा तोग नोवति पाइ कै ॥  
दारू सु दारू भरत गोली अमल गोली रंग की  
मिरदंग ढोलक तोप औ सुरनाइ रीति तुफंग की  
प्याला पलीता सु भरकै तहं जीति मौजै भंग की  
710 दिन रात यह चरचा रहै ततवीर और रन जंग की ॥  
सब कमल लोचन दुःख मोचन काम रूप अगोहरा  
अति चतुर नृत्यक लानसे मघवान भंजिलिसि नोहरा  
अनुराग उपजत राग सुनि सुनि कवित रस के दोहरा  
मनु ढरे सांचे नवल नाचें नटामन के छोहरा ॥  
715 कहं सभा मस्त कलावंती कहं पातुरनि के गाहकौ  
कहं नचत हरषे हीजरा भरि लगीऊ हिरआहिकी

- कहं कोकरे वागे वने दरवार कुं जरौ न राहकी  
यह मौजदी की मौज है गति और नाहि निवाह की ॥  
अथत्वार कोकिलताश्रु या अरु जुलिफिकार या लियो  
720 दौड़ रहै दरवार में वर वैर आपुस में कियो  
ज्यों कटिन कहई नौव रोगी मूँदि आंघिन घूटियो  
[ Fourth line wanting in original. ] ॥  
रह्यो गाजियुद्धी बां वली महमद अमी बां फूटि है  
अवदुस्समुद बां कमरुदी बां जकरिआ बां कूटि है  
725 तहं रहम रहमां बांन अरु तूरानिजा सब टूटि हैं  
पर पंच कीनो मीर जुमीला जंग अनहिं जूटि है ॥  
इक रोज वैठे मौजदी मदिरा वढ़ायो मौज को  
उतसाह सों चित चाह भरि करि ऊकुम नव नव रोज को  
तेहि वीचि आयो धवरि आएक फरकशाहि कनोज को  
730 अरु एजुदी भागे लख हमराह सिगरी फौज को ॥  
यह सुनत एजुदीन भाग्यो फौज संगरी भगी  
तह सकल मजिलिसि मौज में इकवारगी देख सो पगी  
तव लगी मुख विष सौ विरौ अरु गीत गारी सौ लगी  
अंग अमल की लाली घटी ततबीर औ डर रिस जगी ॥  
735 कहां लों लिषिय कथा सब रीति ककु देषि परी नई  
हहरे कलांवत गिरि गए मेह रानि को मुरुका भई  
कऊ परी ढनगति ढोलकी सुधि ताल घुघुर की गई  
सव गयो मद कूटि छाक सोरट ऊहि आहि दई दई ॥  
अति रिस भयो मन मौजदी वकि उठत वारहि वार है  
740 यह काम चूकि कियो दियो करि कोकरा सरदार है  
फिर वे तमीज अमीर सिगरे लै गए अथत्वार है  
मन मै न आई मसलहति अपनी धता की हार है ॥  
धोजे ऊसेन न जंग जानत बात की कथनी कथी

- कहं लरो लुतफुल्लाह सादिक सांचुहै पानोपथी  
 745 करि संग दीने और सिगरे मसलहति तिन की न थी ॥  
 सफ जंग जीते सैद सों हमराह कौन महारथी ॥  
 अब मैं चलो सजि सामुहैं कहि कौन धों ठहराईगा  
 मेरी अवाई सुनत सब दल एक एक पराइगा  
 सब ओस लो तकि उदित सूरज वूंद वूंद विलाइगा  
 750 नहिं बचन देंहों भागेहूं रन भागि को कित जाइगा ॥  
 अब भोर सों करि दौर पऊंचत एक एक हिमारिहों  
 कोउ जियत जान न पाइ है दरवार द्वार पछारिहों  
 करि सेर दैहों मस अहारिन्हू टूक टूक वंटारिहों  
 फिरि वारहं की ईंट उघारि जल में डारि हों ॥  
 755 मेरे भुजावल शाहिजादेन सों नजों लई गई  
 तरवारि के वल फौज के वल हिंद की प्रभुता भई  
 रन भारि तीनों पातशाह हि पातशाहति मैलई  
 सुलितान चाहत सो दिलि वहकाइ ल्याए औरई ॥  
 यह ऊकुम पठयो ताहि जे पऊंचे भगोरा आगरे  
 760 वैठे रह्यो उतहीं सवै मिलि घाट घाट धराधरें  
 पुल तीनि बेगि बंधाइयो मजबूत वालंभपुर तरे  
 इलगार पऊंचत आइहों सफ जंग साज महा करें ॥  
 वकसी वोलाइ कह्यो सबारहिं साज सिगरो कीजिए  
 सब कों दु माहो पेगगी गनि रातिहिं दीजिए  
 765 करि मौर मंजिल कों विदा फिरि षबर सब थल लीजिए  
 ततबीर ऐसी साधि जो परं भाति राति चलीजिए ॥  
 फिरि ऊकुम कौन्हो निकट जे सिगरे अमीर वोलाइकै  
 ततबीर चबे की करो सब राति रातिहिं जाइकै  
 सब साजि फौज प्रभात होतहिं होऊ हाजिर आइकै  
 770 इलगार उतरो आगरो मारों इंटारं धाइकै ॥



- यह ऊकम निकसतहिं एकाएक सहर घरभर सौर भो  
 साजे अमीर सजी सवारी वजी नौवत भोर भो  
 जब खार भो घुद घटा घुमडी परे पाहन घोर भो  
 वद सगुन लधि सब कहै हाथ कालिका को कोप भो ॥
- 775 दाहिने पर चील्ह सनमुष वाम वोल्हो काग है  
 अरु गई काटि गली विली धित राडरीत घराग हैं  
 आत पत्र निशान घंडित दंड परम अभाग है  
 जब खार मौजूदीन भो वद सगुन लागालाग है ॥
- 780 दिन कटक माभ उलूक वोल्त लूक टूट तरात है  
 कहूं खान रोवत सुरनि सों कहूं स्यार गन फिकरात है  
 मडरात सिर पर गीध के गनयो बढो उतपात हैं  
 हहरे सिपाही सुपन में सब भागिवो वर रात है ॥  
 उतपात औ वद सगुन सिगरो मूढ मन वहराइकै  
 एलगार पऊंचो आगरे ठहखो समोगर जाइकें
- 785 तहं मिले एजुदीन औ सिगरे भगोरा आइके  
 सफ जंग की कथनी कथी अति वात बनक बनाइके ॥  
 विकरार वोल्हो मौजदी अव सैयदों सों वूभि हों  
 रन मारि लेंउं गनीम कों तव वारहाहि अरुभि हों  
 सिगरो फिसाद कीयो इन्हो दिल मांह कीन्हो सूभि हों
- 790 एई अगो हर जंग के इनको लगावत लूजि हों ॥  
 सादाति घां मारा जिद कों मानि नातावता  
 फरजंद घां तिस का पिसर सजि फौज आगें धावता  
 यह भयो जो समसामदौला तेग फर फर कावता  
 रन माभ मेरे सांसुहै अव कौन धों ठहरावता ॥
- 795 पहिले क्वीले राम एजुदीन सो मोजरा कियो  
 फिरि जाइकें उतहीं मिल्यो वदवधत मोहि दगा दियो  
 अरु अली असकर घां मिल्यो उत जाइकें आगें छै लियो

- मन में न ल्याए मोजदीनहिं देषिए इनको हियो ॥  
 यों कहि मोहला लेन लाग्यो पांच लाख सवार भो  
 800 तित तो वधानो लाख द्वै गजराज कैक हजार भो  
 फिरि करौ तोपन कौ शलगे गगन धूआं धार भो  
 धुरि धरा धसकत मेरु मसकत सवल यों दल भार भो ॥  
 यों लिषि सिरोमनि दास राए उलांक वेगि पठाइयो  
 दरवार कुतुबलमुलुक के कासीद जोरौ आइयो  
 805 सब अरथ साहेव राम माथुर प्रगट वांचि सुनाइयो  
 यह सुनत नैन रंगे भए अति वीर रस चित छाइयो ॥  
 हंसि कह्यो अवदुल्लाह वां गलवा भयो उत शाह का  
 पांऊं जो अव मै नैकहं करि ऊकुम शाहनशाह का  
 एकवाल फरूकसियर को अरु करम एक इलाह का  
 810 रन दौरि तोरों आनहीं वल मौजदी कौ वांह का ॥  
 मजमून सुनित तजवीज करि करि फेरि अपने कर लयो  
 खारौ तयार भईनई असवार सैयदहै भयो  
 भुशहाल मोक्नि हाथ फेरत शाहि के मोजरें गयो  
 सब अरज कीनो अरथ शाहनशाह को हिय हरषयो ॥  
 815 वह मीर जुमिला को लिख्यो अरज सैद वजीर की  
 दोऊ वरावर सौ विदी वरवात मीर अमीर की  
 अंधियानि सरस्यो वीर रस साहेव जहां रनधीर कौ  
 फर तेग वाहक हाथ फरक्यो धरौ मोक्नि वीर कौ ॥  
 वर वारहांपति वीर सैयद वजीर त्यों अरजी भयो  
 820 आयो महमद धान वंगस साजि साज नयो नयो  
 असवार बीस हजार वषतरपोश ज्यों धन उनयो  
 सभरैत वीर वली सवै पभरैत हाथी औ हयो ॥  
 तव ऊकुम कौन्दो शाहि फरक वा को कियो कूच करार है  
 मिलिअो महमद थां मोहल्ला दै चल्यो इलगार है

- 825 हमराह वीर अमीर जंगी साज तेज तयार है  
गहि अरसला बां पेशवानो चलत आजु अगार है ॥  
खारी तयार भई प्रभातहि शाहनशाह सवार भो  
मिलियो महमद बां सही असवार वीस हजार भो  
मुद आपु पंज हजार सब सरदार मनसवदार भो
- 830 हमराह हिरउल कें कियो एलगार वीर अगार भो ॥  
करि कूच कूच लगार को एलगार पहुँच्यो आगरें  
जल पियत जमुना को दुओ दल सबल वालभंपुर तरे  
तित पार वार मोहार सों मिलि दलप दोउ देरा करें  
ए पेलि चाहत पार उत वे घाट वाट धराधरें ॥
- 835 दुहुं ओर नौवत घोर घुमरत सकल जल हल कंपिओ  
दुहुं ओर भंडे भलमलें फहरानि उड़गन भंपिओ  
रजधान भानु विमान वे लषत असमान सु ठंपिओ  
दुहुं ओर दल भर सहस फनिफन तुरग चरनि चंपिओ ॥  
दुहुं ओर वादल सूदल सूर मयूर ज्यों हरषा करै
- 840 दुहुं ओर तोपन की सलंगें गाज गरज रषा करै  
दुहुं ओर चात कपिक गुनौ गन किति सों कषा करै  
हुहुं ओर गोला वान वूंदनि राति दिन वरषा करै ॥  
दुहुं ओर भट ठट मन बटे सफ जंग की अति मनमनी  
दोउ पेलि चाहत पार भो नित ठठत ठाठ दुओ अनौ
- 845 लगि नीर आवत कुद उदत दलप दोउ दिल्लीधनी  
विकरार धार महानदी पकतात त्यो दोउ पनी ॥  
तेहं वीच वजीर सैयद अरज आवतहीँ कियो  
प्रभु राज चक्षु प्रतक्ष लषि थल षवरि आनि हमैं दियो  
ककु दूर पश्चिम आगरे थाह जमुना को लियो
- 850 पायाव पारहुं वार लों सुनि शाहि को हिय हरषियो ॥  
करि भूठ दीन्हो गुलगुला तिरि भोजदी उरवार भो

- यह सोर भी चहुं ओर जोर दिलेर दल तैयार भो  
 कक् फौज भेजि गनीम सुष पर शाहनशाह तयार भो  
 तव राति रातिहि दौरि सैयद थहरि तरि करि पार भो ॥
- 855 अडि रहौ जौन गनीम सुष पर फौज तोन वलाइकै  
 चलि कोस चारिक पहर एक तितै रह्यो ठहराइकै  
 जव भयो भोर अंदोर दहुं दिसि चढ्यो ध्यान वजाइकै  
 अति वेग तेम धनेस जमुना कूल पहुंचे आइकै ॥  
 जव आनि पहुंच्यो जोर दल वल समय साधन सो सध्यो
- 860 अति धार भार षभार फनि पुर फनि सह सौ फन षथ्यो  
 रजधानं सों असमान सुद्रित सेतु सिंधुन मे वंध्यो  
 जल प्रथम की वनि बीच के थल पाछि ले तरिवो नध्यो ॥  
 एहि भांति शाहनशाहि जमुना उत्तरहि तें उत्तरो  
 पर ओर रोज विहां सुं पुरव कोस द्वैक सिक्ंदरो
- 865 तेहि बीच सरिता निकट भोजुलि कटक को डेरा घरो  
 सुनतै अवाई मौजदी की फौज मे घरभर परो ॥  
 यह घवर सुनतें मौजदी मन में महा रिस सो भरो  
 वकि उछ्यो यारहु देषना अव दौरि जीवतहि धरो  
 वांचे न कोऊ भागेहूँ गहि एक एकहि संघरो
- 870 इन्ह कियो टाढ सु कै टिठाई सो सजाई इन्ह करो ॥  
 कहियो करेरे नैन करि करिपि डेरनि ते कछ्यो  
 समसेर सरकत घुनिस घरकत मोक् फरकत मन वछ्यो  
 चतुरंग अंगी साज जंगौ मत्त मैगल मैं चढ्यो  
 धौसा धोकारत धरनि धुकि धुवलोक धुरिन्ह सो मछ्यो ॥
- 875 हमरा हवै भट पाच लाष भिलाष मन रन के भरे  
 सब जिरह वषतर पोश भषर वारहें पर पषरे  
 एह भांति राति वस्यो वलौ चलि और दक्षिण आगरे  
 फिरि भोर होतहि दौरि करि डेरा करे इसकंदरे ॥

- रन भूमि बीच रची सु अंतर कोस द्वै दुऊ फौज सों  
 880 थित पूरबी पर ओर ओपरवार पूरव औज सों  
 दोऊ वीर वांके हरषि हांके त्यों अमीरनि सौज सों  
 फर भोर सनु संघारिए मजू जमन की मौज सों ॥  
 संवत सु सत्रह सै ओन्त्तरि पूस पून्यो वुध तहि  
 सम सो अग्यारह तेतिसा माहे मोहरम चौदहीं  
 885 अरु पातसाही माह आनुर वाएसौ श्रीधर कही  
 सफ जंग की साएत सधी साहेव जहां कीनी सही ॥  
 तित भोर सो लगि पहर द्वै वनवारि घर वरषा कियो  
 जब धुले वादर हरष सों दियो धनी डंका दियो  
 दल सजे वीर अमीर सैयद वजीर त्योंहि यह रषियो  
 890 चतुरंग जंग उमंग रन भूमि पिलि पहिले लियो ॥  
 फर वीर चढि ठाढो भयो हमराह सब खारी ठटौ  
 जिहिं ओर जो दलु चाहिए तिहि ओर त्यों फौजें वंटौ  
 लहि मिसिल सिगरे अगुहरे रजधान सो सरिता पटौ  
 अति सूर भंपत कुर्म कंपत सेस कौ वलता घटौ ॥

### विलास छंद ।

- 895 ऊकुम शाहि को लै गल गजेउ  
 कुतुबुलमुलुक दाहिने सजेउ  
 वषतर पोश वीर हमराही  
 काल वारहें काल सिपाही  
 सैद मुर रन काल सिपाही अति उतसाही ह्वै हमराही सकल सजे  
 900 जे शाहि हुकुम लहि तेगे गहि २ मारऊ २ कहि कहि गरजे  
 वागे ढोली धरो घोरें दप करि मन में भरि सफ जंग मजे  
 अवदुल्लह घान सैयद के घौसे दखिन गहिरी वंव वजे ॥  
 दीलाजाक लोदी लोहाणी

- पन्नी तरौन सूर सरवाणी  
 905 दाउदजई घेणगी गबी  
 सु महमद विट्टनी पबी  
 विट्टनी पबी मत्ती गबी अस्य अरबी पघरैतै  
 वनि वघतर भिलमै दाए दिल मै जैत कतिल मै सघरैतै  
 पाठे पठनैतटे लोह लपेटे कोहनि फैटे अघरैतै  
 910 थों अवदुल्ल षां संग वीर महमद षां वंगश अघरैतै ॥  
 × × × × × ×

### कवित्त ।

- 1109 रीभत जव नैक मौला घन की मंगन महि को सकल लहै  
 वरनै कह लगि दीन के दारिद हेमवत्त सो सकल पद है  
 दरवाजें सदादान को धौंसा वजतु गहिरि वंव रहै  
 सुमताज घान वलवान वीर ऐसी विधि श्रीधर सु कवि कहै ॥  
 × × × × × ×

### हीर छंद ।

- 1249 तव मौजदी भन रोस कै  
 चहुं ओर वांकी फौज कै  
 हिरउल सु कोकिलताश षां  
 वल वंक वीर फतूहदां ॥  
 × × × ×

### हरिगीता छंद ।

- 1309 दुहुं ओर फौजै साजियो गलगानि भट ठाठे भए  
 1310 बाजे नगारे फौलवारे घम धुनि धुव कंपए  
 घुर धार भार दुधार सों कटि कार सूरज भंपए  
 तह वहलकी भूमके मेरुह हलत पहल समभुअ वंपए ॥



दुङ्ग ओर फौजनि औज सो रन मौज देषादेष भो

हथनाल तोपैं वान जाल विसाल गरज अलेष भो

1815

धोरनाल धोर अंदोर दुहुं दल रहकला सवि सेष भो

फर वजीं वहु कि वंदुष अगनित तित वनैतनि तेष भो ॥

कड कड कडा कड सो अरावे कुटें तट पकनि टाप कौ

चहुं ओर घोर घटा मजी धुंव धार ताप तराव कौ

वर वान वगरत वीजुरी सम गोल ओला थाप कौ

1820

नहि पहरकै एक पिछानि का झरही पर कौ आप कौ ॥

कुटि गयो धुंधूकार लो भिनुसार सो दुहुं दिसि भयो

ललकारि वीर अमौर सांवत चापसर कर वर लयो

दप करत आगे वाजि वागें मौज मोदमने भयो

वजि उठे मारु मारु मारु अंदोर रन मंडल क्यो ॥

1825

तहं तीर तर तर वान सर सर सु भर भर गोला चले

पग पिलत आगेहीं आगेहीं सावत भूप भले भले

भाट लाल सुष सुष भरे पीरे रंग कायर हलहले

जिमि देषि जाचक दानि सुष सूम सुष दुष सुष बेकले ॥

इत उत दुह्ल दल के जितैं जे वीर वीर वीरों बिरे

1830

ते करनसाके वलिक वांके हांकि भट भट सों भिरे

समसेर सरकि सिरोहवार सन्हार सांवत सिर चिरे

दीनी भामाभम कि भरभ भूमि भूमि लेते गिरे ॥

× × × × × ×

1433

कल लेन देतन रहकले हथनाल घन घुरनाल है

तूफान फहरत तुफंग कौ फहरात वान विसाल है

1435

तहं तीर सलभ समूह सम सुरलोक तरस रजाल है

असमान भानु विमान गोरुंकि भयो धुधु काल है ॥

तव वीर वीर विरां विरे मनु गह्वरे भट भट भिरे

वजि उठे मारु मारु मारु पुकार करि करि मरु भिरे

- वानैत गवीहै अरवी वीर गबी कर थिरे  
 1440 तहं होतह हफ काफ कौ फर मुघन काह्म फिरे ॥  
 × × × × × ×  
 1453 चहुं ओर फौजनि फौज सों मन मौज मारु महा परी  
 हथियार भार दुधार भर मनु मघा मेघनि की भरी  
 1455 जिर जिलम कुंडि कुरी कुरी किरि गई वषतर की करी  
 करि मारु मारु सन्हार थार सन्हार सुनि थतलल करी ॥  
 घमन घटा घोर घमंड सो सम घुमडि फर फौज रहैं  
 धौंसे धोकारत गरज गहि तरवारि चमक कटा सही  
 भर तीर गोलीन वार गोला परत ओला स तहां महि  
 1460 मची मेदनि गूद कौच कृपान सैयद जव गही ॥  
 मद भरे भूमत घरे घाइ अघाइ करि वरथरि अरै  
 सिर सरत ओनि धार मनऊ पहार सो भरना भरै  
 वटि चली लोऊन की नदी लहरै लधें कहि को तरै  
 तेहि तीर दल दल मास को वल पठान काहूं को परै ॥

### कवित्त छंद ।

- 1465 वक्तसत कहा मौज रोज रोज कवि गनत काहेते करत वांकि  
 वौरन की कर है  
 हिम गिरि अरि हृद कै हट को वदेस लागि कोन रेवु दे कै  
 जीयो जस सो मयंकु है  
 श्रीधर भनत पंच मुष को परम प्यारो पंच मुष विक्रम भर  
 थारे पांचे अकु है  
 कीरति महीपनि लाल प्रचुसाल जू कौ काहेतें वटति विर  
 दातानि कलंकु है

× × × × × ×

1533 फरकसियर शाहि जहांदार शाहि दोऊ आगरे अगारी अरे  
पातशाहीहेत मै

श्रीधर वजत मारू वाजे वाजे वीर मुडि गई वागैं रहे  
केतक न चेत मै

अंगद सो अडो पादशाहि पलटि डाल्यौ एवी एतो  
आजम थां सवल वनैत मै

महा हव भारथ को कमनेती पारथ की जैसी भीम भुज  
बल भाव्यो कुरुषेत मै ॥

× × × × × ×

1545 श्रीधर अवाई देधि फरकसियर जू की आयो मत्त  
मौजदी अनेक अभिलाष कै

धरि कु घमइ घोर माख्यौ गई मुरि वागैं अडिओ कबीले  
राम राजा मन माष के

मारि पर दल हरषायो जूय जो गिनी को करत वडाई  
सिवा संकर हि साष कै

एके वीर कैयो लाखें एककैन आन्यो मन एकही गनत  
कैयो लाख कै ॥

× × × × × ×

1599 शादी शादनामह की उक्ताह अति पतरन की अंग अंग  
वाढी रंग वाढीहीं रघत के

1600 तेरी पातशाही पातशाही पायो जेब फल श्रीधर सु  
वरषत के

श्रीधर भनत पातशाहन को पातशाह फरकसियर नर  
जवर नषत के

तिनके वक्त जेवाई लषत तषत तूहि वैथत तषत वाढी  
वषत तषत के ॥

दमिन घील पील पद्धम ऊदी जेजीत पूरव अपूरव

हटेलो हाथ लायो है

औधर शाहनशाह फरकसियर नर सातों दीप सरहद

हिन्द के मिलायो है

1605 दिन दिन वाछतहि वाछही दिन दिन दिन दिन दून

पातशाहत वढायो है

अर पातशाह पातशाहि पावें जेव पाय तो सो

पातशाहि जेव पायो है ॥

घेरी खारा वतार भीरी सु वदार दल घल भूंद

कीनो छीन एजुदी को

धावा करि पूरव ते डावादार मौजनि की मीना सो

वकार लीनो शाह मौजदी को

औधर भनत वातशाहन की वातशाह फरकसियर

भू घनाह दोऊ दीन को

1610 मुलुक मुलुक दौरें खवरें फतूहन की कांपियो डर

गव्वर हरष वढयो दीन को ॥

कोऊ टूटो कोऊ दारू काहू में न गुन भारो कोऊ

वारनारी वस में न आयो है

सुन्दर सुजियान सुजा शीलवन्त और जवान

पूरो एक तोहि विधि नय वनायो है

औधर भनत सानी जलालुद्दीन अकबर वातशाह

फरकसियर वातशाह भर पायो है

1614 वाल पातशाहत सों पूर करि करत तोहि देश

रीझ जै जै माला पहराइयो है ॥

× × × × × ×

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-4, Invocation.]

- 5 Çridhar *alias* Murlidhar, twice-born, lives in Prāg;  
By telling this pleasing tale of kings he increases affection;  
Farrukhsiyar the king is young, strong, eloquent,  
And the giver of gold to all the nobles.  
A trader's letter came, suddenly arose desire;  
10 Having vomited, Bahādur Shāh went to heaven.  
Hearing the news, forthwith the generous Farrukhsiyar  
Decided to raise a force and make a rapid march,  
He sent for his *Bakhshī*, A'zam Khān, and gave order:—  
"Now let troops be raised, as many as can be got."  
15 Then, after ten days or so, came the trustworthy news,  
Zū'lfikār and the nobles had all gone over to Mu'izzu-d-dīn,  
Zū'lfikār Khān lead astray all the army, using deceit,  
Otherwise who could overcome in battle one so powerful.  
Mu'izzu-d-dīn raised the umbrella, ordered the public prayer  
perversely,  
20 Set out for Dihli, wrote and sent out rescripts to the four  
quarters.

Tomar Chand (21-38).

- When this news came  
Then the wise Farrukhsiyar  
Called for all the nobles,  
Conferred gifts on all the heroes.  
25 To all he gave the order—  
"Now get together an army."  
After this order, the next morning,  
He raised the umbrella, sat on the throne.  
All the king's friends  
30 Then began to enlist soldiers.  
'Abdullāh Khān made ready,  
He fell into a great rage,  
The king's order issued,  
He reached Allāhābād.  
35 Of *šubah* as well as *sarkār*,  
Of all he took full possession,  
The heroic head of the vanguard  
Set up his armed posts.

## Doharā (39-70).

- Then Mir Jumlah, a noble, clever, deep, strong of arm,  
 40 Fought Mu'izzu-d-din's army, grasping the sword,  
 Arranged all the *shūbahs*, walked circumspectly,  
 And reported all the facts to the king, where, when, and how.  
 Thus Mir Jumlah, the hero, reported in a long letter—  
 "They have made Sayyid Rāji *Khān* governor of Prāg,  
 45 "He has started, his avant-garde is Sayyid 'Abdu-l-ghaffār,  
 "Behind comes a great army led by Prince 'Izzu-d-din."  
 When all these details from Mir Jumlah, the hero, arrived  
 Before the king, shelter of the world, the powerful Farrukh-  
*siyar*,  
 Hearing them and looking at the nobles, with fitting anger,  
 50 Spoke Ḥusain 'Ali *Khān*, the fighter of Kūrā, strong as an  
 elephant,—  
 "By this the fortunes of the king of kings are not one  
 moment threatened,  
 "To meet him 'Abdullāh *Khān* singly would be enough,  
 "Let grace be shown him quickly, send him a written com-  
 mand,  
 "That wretched army will he rend, will overcome it in battle  
 array."  
 55 When the rescript that the king of kings had written arrived,  
 Sayyid 'Abdullāh *Khān* took it, carried out the usages of  
 respect,  
 He placed the order on his head, with his drums remembered  
 his Lord,  
 He raised tents towards Ālam Cand and blocked the road.  
 Then he stood fast, making Prāg his fixed place,  
 60 Sent on his brothers to battle, under them all the leaders,  
 Thus joined Saifu-d-din 'Ali *Khān*, brave, heroic, liberal,  
 Najmu-d-din 'Ali *Khān*, the fierce, started sword in hand,  
 Sirāju-d-din 'Ali *Khān*, too, joined, the brave and strong;  
 There also came Rājā Ratn Cand, the wise, armed with  
 sword,  
 65 Mir Muhsan *Khān* also joined and brave Anwar *Khān*,  
 Then joined Samandar *Khān* and Yādgar Beg, the fighter,  
 Mirzā Wali Bahrām Beg, mounted, grasping his bow,  
 (He whose father is Barqandāz *Khān*, a title he too obtained),  
 Darwesh 'Ali *Khān* joined, the Sayyid marked for victory,  
 70 There came many brave leaders, severe and proud of nature.



Harigīt (71-170).

This side halted at Ālam Cand, that side encamped at Kohun,  
On both sides when day broke both lords of battle beat their  
drums,

As these mounted, those advanced, full of zeal both seized  
their reins,

The whole army was in agitation, and the court beloved of the  
sun ;

- 75 When the armies came in sight, they both cocked their guns,  
Muskets, swivel-guns, elephant-pieces sounded loud as thunder,  
Then lightening gleamed and glistened as the swords left their  
scabbards,

It began like heavy rain of sorts, in the mêlée blood ran in  
streams,

Urged on with unceasing cries, the brave warriors galloped,  
both armies rushed,

- 80 Seizing their swords, jumping and springing, they delivered  
blows,

One moment down, then up again, and the next moment on  
without flinching,

For six hours, in confusion, the heroes braved the clouds and  
streams of war.

[The Sayyids fight on (83-98) till Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān is  
killed].

- 99 Having made firm his heart, the Bārḥah boy,

- 100 Sayyid Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, received his martyr's crown,  
Joyous from the Hūrī's hand he drank the full cup of love,  
He did his duty loyally, bestowed lustre on the illustrious  
army.

Thus noise arose on every side, all the leaders rushed,

Advancing they threw down buckler, cast off head-pieces, tore  
their shirts of mail,

- 105 Quitted breast-plate, broke their scabbards, laid hand on  
dagger,

Lances glittered everywhere, the sword blows fell many and  
thick.

Meanwhile men ran from all sides, surrounded the whole army,  
There arrow, spear, rocket, bullet, reddened body after body,  
Swords shone and glittered, daggers wounded with a "kar-  
kar,"

- 110 Tossed to and fro the crowd struggled, the chiefs of the army  
stood fast.



Many lay on the ground writhing, many wandered wounded,  
Many were like to faint from fear, and died without being  
struck.

The leader, 'Abdu-l-ghaffār's, body was covered with wounds,  
In the battle-field he knew not where nor how to hold his  
footing.

- 115 Then the army made off, the scamps rob the money bags,  
He whose foot had no shoes was exalted on horseback;  
Rushed the famous one, shouting the king's name, threatens  
with thumps,

Wherever he goes the hero bears the decree of victory.

When Mirzā Manẓūr told all the story to Quṭbu-l-mulk,

- 120 The drums beat with long throbs, delight blossomed in his  
breast,

Hearing of Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān's fate, he fell into a rage,  
His eyes stared, he twisted his moustache, his teeth bit his lips.

Then spoke 'Abdullāh Khān, "Now will I fight a great fight,

"To cut to pieces the whole western army I draw my dagger,

- 125 "As many leaders as are come, their souls shall pay the  
penalty,

"None shall be let go till I am revenged for Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī  
Khān;

"In a battle-field like Kūrukhet, I will raise a contest of  
swords,

"By strength of arm when I and my kindred have been  
wounded unto death,

"Then may I be styled a faithful follower of Farrukhsiyar."

[Line 130 is wanting. (Lines 131-138) The Sayyid's brothers  
return to Allāhābād; they and their commanders are com-  
mended and rewarded.]

- 139 Next day Quṭbu-l-Mulk called for Ṣāhib Rāe, and said,

- 140 "Write to the king of kings the news, telling the whole story;

"Write to brother Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, instructing him of all,

"Wherever he is, let him hurry here, gathering a sufficient  
army."

Ṣāhib Rāe, the Māthur, heard and wrote there and then a  
letter,

Told of the battle array, all things as they happened—how,  
where, and when,

- 145 The repulse of the western force, the advance of the nobles;

Again he wrote to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the whole story.

[The contents of the letter are then given (lines 146-158).]

- 159 This humble letter was sent off and reached Paṭnah,  
160 First Ḥusain 'Alī Khān took the letter and was pleased,  
Read of Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān's fate and sorrowed,  
When his anger had decreased, he read out the petition to the  
king.  
Thus spoke the noble of nobles to the king of kings:—  
“ When angry, none can stop me ; my grief burns for my young  
brother,  
165 “ Give me orders, I make forced marches, I am ardent to fight,  
“ By calling “ hish-hish ” I will turn 'Izzu-d-dīn back.”  
Then the king gave orders—“ Please wait a day or two,  
“ Let some smart, loyal noble be sent off ahead,  
“ What good is rage at 'Izzu-d-dīn now, better take counsel,  
170 “ Then let us start with a perfect army against Mu'izzu-d-dīn.”

Pādānkul Chand (171-376).

- Next day when morn appeared  
Then the king held privy audience,  
Group by group stood all the nobles.  
Murtaẓā Khān took the lead.  
175 Sayyid Murtaẓā Khān advanced,  
The king of kings addressed him,—  
“ See to getting ready an army,  
“ You be the first to start to the west.”  
Instantly obeying, the hero went.  
180 Sayyid Murtaẓā Khān took an army,  
Set out by forced marches,  
Made Bahādurpur his fixed camp.  
Again His Majesty gave an order,  
A'ẓam Khān was despatched.

[Here follow (185-228) the names of many men who joined.  
Darbars were held daily. Ashraf Khān arrives and is made  
Khān Daurān, 229-236. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain was sent towards  
Bhāgalpur, 243, 244. Ghairat Khān was left in charge of  
Paṭnah, 251, 252. The following couplet, 257, 258, is worth  
quoting for the quaint inversion in the second line:—

*Sajyo Husen Alie Khān, bal,  
Mahābīr, Umrāu-amīr-al.*

He took command of the vanguard. We come next to Far-  
rukhsiyar's march from Paṭnah.]

- 347 All the nobles and chiefs got ready,  
The order was given to Arslān Khān,—

- “Take out the advanced tents,  
 350 “Count the forced marches exactly.”  
 Arslān Khān obeyed the order,  
 Mounting took his army with drums beating,  
 He took out the advanced tents,  
 Marched five kos and encamped.
- 355 Next morning the king of kings started,  
 The throng of elephants roared,  
 The royal march was beaten loudly.  
 Then played the music of His Majesty,  
 The big drums shook with mutterings and growlings,
- 360 Men shouted “Victory! Victory”!  
 The trumpets brayed “ho-hū-ho,”  
 The king of kings’ good omens appeared,  
 The hautboys sounded happy augury,  
 Rāma and the sages joined the throng.
- 365 “Clash, clash,” clanged the cymbals,  
 Jingling bells began their “tinkle, tinkle,”  
 The elephant-riders displayed their standards,  
 In front ran men shouting “Victory”!  
 Everywhere incomparable brightness reigns,
- 370 The splendour is as that of Indra’s heaven,  
 Fringes hang over their faces,  
 Guardians of stars and umbrellas,  
 Sunscreens waving in their hands.  
 Hearts full of joy shout for the Faith,
- 375 Yak-tails, *sundar*, the fish-dignity,  
 Give evidence of happy augury.

Chappai Chand (377-388).

- Farrukhshiyar, powerful, king of kings, led his army,  
 Many armour-clad elephants trumpeted and roared repeatedly,  
 The lordly drums resound and thunder, filling all the air,
- 380 Lances glitter, pennants flutter, as also the ensigns,  
 Soldiers wherever you turned, uproar everywhere,  
 It was very dark from mist, the sun hidden, the sky covered.  
 No strong man failed to arise, the weak ones gathered up  
 strength,
- Many rulers came from afar to conquer kingdoms,  
 385 Many were lords of elephants, many sought that rank,  
 Many swordsmen stood, holding proudly sword and sabre,  
 Now from every hut and corner throngs of men confusedly  
 jostled,

To join Farrukhshiyar, king of kings, whose good fortune called aloud.

Dohā (389-422).

- Meanwhile the king of kings marched in extreme rage,  
 390 Made forced marches, halted at several places.  
 By hurried stages he reached Khajurān,  
 A'zam Khān rejoined and beheld the face of his lord.  
 At Bahādurpur they found Sayyid Murtaẓā Khān;  
 Crossing to Banāras they observed the 'Īd, then hastened on,  
 395 Came through Baserī, encamped in Jhūnsī,  
 The valiant followed, the faithless vanished.  
 Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān did homage,  
 With him made obeisance all his followers;  
 Elephants, horses, litters, swords, shields, weapons,  
 400 Robes, jewelled aigrettes, and high rank  
 The king of kings gave with the title of Quṭbu-l-Mulk,  
 Gave promotion and all things pertaining to rank.  
 He made a temporary bridge, crossed to the west of Prāg,  
 There halted four days, then rushed again onward.  
 405 Then came Farzand Khān, world-renowned swordsman,  
 Strong Ṣalābat Khān came and Saif Khān, the valorous,  
 Acting ever a leader's part Chabila Rām appeared,  
 As his welcome he was made Rājā and Cār-hazārī.  
 Next joined 'Alī Aṣghar Khān, who came to Hāthigrām,  
 410 Received the rank of Cār-hazārī and the name of Khān  
 Zamān.  
 Passing east of Kumwarpur and to the west of Bindukī  
 The king encamped between them; there was tumult in both  
 armies.  
 Leaving Fathābād on the west and on the east Bindukī village,  
 'Izzu-d-dīn placed his tents and encamped his army,  
 415 Fenced himself and dug a ditch, made a fort round his army,  
 Collected countless carts, made of them a bulwark to his force.  
 The two strong armies lay three *kos* apart,  
 Kept the battle-field in the midst, the mad elephants trampled  
 it into mud.  
 The prince was sent in advance by the ruler, the king of kings;  
 420 When the king's army arrived, they had forthwith desire.  
 'Abdullāh Khān, quick in battle, the champion Ḥusain 'Alī  
 Khān,  
 In front of the battle-pillar went the upholder of the Axis.

## Madhubhār Chand (423-548).

- 423 Then joined ‘Abdullāh Khān  
 Also Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān,  
 425 ‘Ināyat Khān, too, joined,  
 And Shujā‘at ‘Alī Khān, the fierce.  
 [Then follows (427-548) a long list of chiefs and nobles, each  
 with some epithet.]

## Blujangprayāt Chand (549-636).

- 549 On both sides were ranged the raging tuskers,  
 550 Clothed in armour, row upon row,  
 The mace-bearers surrounded them, their heads were  
 lacerated,  
 The dusky ones screamed, the loud bells rang.  
 Their bodies like lowering clouds, great beyond measuring,  
 Bearing iron armour, covered with fringed housings.  
 555 Thousands of armour-clad horses came clattering,  
 It seemed like the sun’s chariots gathered together.  
 Eagerly, with playful gait, went the spirited ones,  
 Streams of Turki, Tāzi, Īrāqī horses,  
 They steadied each other, foot close by foot,  
 560 Arabs, and western ones, sportive Qandahāris.  
 They leapt like acrobats, their forelocks plaited,  
 Flanks, backs, loins, eyelids, free of fault,  
 Cream-coloured, bright bays and chestnuts,  
 Handsome shapes making a flower-garden.  
 565 Like the splendour of borders, blue and green,  
 Dark bays, with the five lucky marks, and light duns,  
 Great in girth, small-eared, full of youth,  
 Their hoofs large, their chests broad.  
 Restless-eyed, their heads good-tempered,  
 570 Hoofs and coat shining, compact, ready for fatigue ;  
 Warrior allies came from all quarters,  
 All the iron-clad heroes joined, boiling over with rage.  
 Everywhere proud governors jostled each other,  
 A crowd enough to pulverize the enemy,  
 575 Wherever you look the army is full of kings and heroes,  
 Many strutting about discharge their guns.  
 All the valorous, heroic, active, loyal,  
 Came with harness rattling, mount with shouts,

- Issue from the army, and shouting urge their steeds ;  
 580 How relate the twirling of their spears !  
 Behold on the other side, rare and undaunted,  
 Advances raging the ruler of Dihlī's son ;  
 On two sides stand the enemies like flower-beds,  
 On two sides the armies stand looking.
- 585 With king Farrukhshiyar are the governors of provinces,  
 A wondrous crowd of allies jostled everywhere,  
 Loudly resounded enlivening music,  
 Everywhere spears thick as gathering clouds.  
 As the field-pieces fired a great dust arose,
- 590 There arose from the smoke great clouds and darkness,  
 Flashes of light came where the rockets flew,  
 It was as if the great vault of heaven had burst.  
 They threw their missiles, doing harm every time,  
 Armed men and gunners fired many cannon,
- 595 The heroes of both armies advanced,  
 They dispelled and trode into dust the enemy's array.  
 Verily that army's conceit deserted it,  
 Taking the chief batteries they crowded in,  
 'Izzu-d-dīu's men began to quit the walls,
- 600 Turned and fled on beholding those wrathful men.  
 They abandoned horses, carriages, gold, elephants,  
 No one collected aught of his belongings,  
 Some left their horses, threw down their weapons,  
 Some fled, taking the road in front of them.
- 605 Some moaned "hā, hā," some fell at the men's feet,  
 They went creeping and crawling, as best they could,  
 They ran out and fled, those miserable wretches,  
 Many stood calling aloud the names of God.  
 Many mighty men abated their pride,
- 610 Valorously abandoned all they had,  
 Leaving all they fled, forgot their strutting gait,  
 Their star had set, their wits had fled :  
 Everybody, servants, learned men, waiting maids  
 Calling "Lord ! bestow on us some helper" !
- 615 [Garo dhāwaro jhāṅki jhībāi surosai,  
 All piled on Mu'izzu-d-dīn fitting curses.  
 Some seized on money-bags with great glee,  
 Everywhere the camp plunderers ran with torches,  
 Lighted the thatches and the mighty tents ;
- 620 Great fear spread, the smoke made a darkness.



- Here from the hot flames red light broke forth,  
 Elsewhere the heroes of the *bāzār* stole the money bags,  
 There the bambū knots split with a spluttering sound,  
 Crashing and snapping, the heavy thatches crackled.
- 625 They plundered saffron, wine, spirits, dried dates,  
 They took all the bags of walnuts and musk,  
 At places pearls were burnt into powder and dust,  
 Everywhere squatted plunders tying huge bundles.  
 Pickles, powders, and *cironjī* nuts were burnt,
- 630 Elsewhere jujube fruit, tubers, and fever-nuts,  
 They burnt or took clothes and turbans of gold brocade,  
 There lay about many bundles, women were robbed.  
 The jeweller's bags were carried off,  
 The jewellers dispersed, their bundles lay scattered,
- 635 Crowds of traders cried, "Alas! we are undone,"  
 Numerous lovely women fled, their faces veiled.

## Doharā (637-656).

- Know then that thus fled 'Izzu-d-dīn and all his men,  
 Listen to Çridhar, the poet, as he tells the whole story.  
 Imtiyāz *Khān* reported, bringing a good gift for his lord,
- 640 "My Lord! may this victory be of good fortune to the king  
 of kings!  
 "They sent *Khān* Daurān as chief, one fit for any enterprize,  
 "Nausherī *Khān*, his son, was sent with the vanguard to  
 battle.  
 "'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad *Khān*, Rāje *Khān*, the noble,  
 "Luṭfullāh *Khān*, Ṣādiq, Dildiler *Khān*, the brave,
- 645 "Such were the nobles trusted by Mu'izzu-d-dīn,  
 "Against your Majesty's good fortune they could not stand  
 in battle;  
 "From 'Izzu-d-dīn's harshness all went wrong,  
 "They came to eat *pān*, they threw away hand and foot,  
 "Elephants, horses, camels, ox-carriages large and small, litters,
- 650 "Cannon, kettle-drums, swivel-pieces, camel-guns, elephant-  
 guns,  
 "Gold coins, jewels uncounted, in heaps strewn everywhere,  
 "The vacant enclosure stands, surrounded by bags."  
 There stood Mumtāz *Khān*; His Majesty called him near,  
 The king of kings gave order—"Go you now and see,
- 655 "Take the war elephants, trumpets, cannon and drums,  
 "All the rest of the plunder leave with whoever took it."



Ardhik Chand (657-694).

- The king of kings having gained a victory,  
 His heart was filled with supreme delight ;  
 In the morning he sat in audience,
- 660 All spoke words of reverence.  
 Then sounded the royal music loudly,  
 It sent forth its loud, shrill cries,  
 They summoned dancing women,  
 The nobles came to make obeisance.
- 665 Many jewels shone,  
 White, blue, and crystal,  
 They offered gifts of many sorts,  
 They all stood group by group.  
 Quṭbu-l-mulk made his petition,
- 670 Asked for two nobles to be called,  
 Then Muẓaffar Khān was presented,  
 The Lord of the World conferred favours,  
 Gave the title of the very utmost degree,  
 “Khān Jahān ” with “ Bahāduri ” :
- 675 Raḥmat Khān, bravest of the brave, attended,  
 And received the title of Mutaḥawwar Khān.  
 Then the king bestowed gifts,  
 Rewarded all the nobles,  
 Gave elephants, fierce in battle,
- 680 ‘Irāqī horses with saddles.  
 Auspicious robes of honour glistened,  
 Made the assembly a golden garden,  
 Turban ornaments glittered, plumes fluttered,  
 Lovely jewelled bands and trappings,
- 685 Jewelled swords were displayed,  
 The whole army was covered with jewels ;  
 On that spot they made four halts,  
 All the army took repose.  
 Then began again the long marches ;
- 690 Where stands the town of Shāh Madār,  
 There the lord of the army arrived,  
 And worshipped the wonder-working saint,  
 Some ten days they halted there,  
 Many gifts were given in the audience hall.
- J. 1. 6

Gitā Chand (695–894).

- 695 Again Mīr Jumlah, the hero, forwarded thence a report,  
The runner with paper in hand came to the *darbār* door,  
Mumtāz Khān took the writing, delivered it to the king,  
Taqarrub Khān took it, and forthwith read out the contents.  
The clever agent of the Wazīr, Sayyid ‘Abdullāh Khān,
- 700 The *Kāyath*, Siroman Dās Rāe, lord of Sāndī town,  
Frequenting the audiences of Mu‘izzu-d-dīn he learnt the truth,  
He wrote to Quṭbu-l-mulk all the news of importance.  
“Here Mu‘izzu-d-dīn, puffed-up, maddest of the mad, goes on  
drinking,  
“All the musicians are made nobles, they do what their heart  
desires,
- 705 “At every moment in their mind arises joy for some brother,  
“Who has got fish-dignity, flag, hand, yak-tail, and kettle-  
drums.  
“They load with wine, their bullets are opium pills,  
“Long and short drums are their cannon, long horns replace  
muskets,  
“Instead of a gun-match they fill cups, they conquer floods of  
*bhang*,
- 710 “Night and day are thus noised abroad their plans for war and  
battle-field.  
“All the lily-eyed, pain-quelling beauties are collected,  
“The cleverest dancers wave in the hall their dusky locks,  
“Passion kindles by their songs, he hears sweet poet’s rhymes,  
“He beholds attentively the dances of the pretty juggler boys.
- 715 “Here a group of drunken players, there the overtures of loose  
women,  
“Here dance joyous eunuchs, moving with great quickness,  
“There boys run about, making the *darbār* a sodomites’ resort,  
“This is Mu‘izzu-d-dīn’s madness, he attends to nothing else.  
“Power is usurped by Kokaltāsh Khān and Zū’lfiqār Khān,
- 720 “Both attend the *darbār*, there is great enmity between them,  
“As a sick man shuts his eyes and gulps down bitter juice  
reluctantly,  
[Line wanting in original.]  
“Brave Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān and Muḥammad Amīn Khān have  
been gained,  
“‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Qamru-d-dīn Khān, Zakariyā Khān,  
have come over,
- 725 “Then Raḥīm Khān and all the Tūrānis have been got at,

“They have made Mir Jumlah referee, will join and fight for him.

“One day Mu‘izzu-d-din sat, streams of wine were flowing,

“Full of happiness to his heart’s desire, he gave new orders for each day ;

“In the midst of this came the news,—‘Farrukh Shāh is at Kannauj,

730 “‘And ‘Izzu-d-din has fled, taking with him all his army.’

“Hearing of ‘Izzu-d-din’s flight, that all his army had fled,

“The whole drunken gathering was forthwith immersed in sorrow,

“Then began their mouths to burn as if poisoned, the songs sounded like curses,

“Their drunken joy subsided, thought and fear and anger awoke.

735 “It is too much to write all the story, nothing received attention,

“Perturbed, the musicians made ‘rain,’ the queen went into a swoon,

“Drums of sorts were dropped, they forgot their cymbals and rattles,

“Drunkenness vanished, the wine-cups dropped, the tunes stopped, they cried and groaned.

“Mu‘izzu-d-din was exceeding wroth, time after time he talked wildly,—

740 “‘This affair has mis-carried because I made a child into a leader,

“‘Furthermore, power was granted to a group of injudicious nobles,

“‘My mind conceived not wise plans, the defeat is through my own error.

“‘Khwājah Husain knows naught of war, nor the intricacies of affairs ;

“Where did Luṭfullāh Khān ever fight, he of Pānipat, the True One ?

745 “‘With them went many others, none of whom could give advice,

“‘Among them who was skilled to overcome the Sayyid in battle array ?

“‘Now I start with my followers, say, who will stand fast, and how ?

“‘Hearing of my approach the whole army will fall to pieces,

- “ ‘ All the dew, every drop of it, is dissipated by the risen sun ;  
 750 “ ‘ I will not spare one rebel ; who will there be to appear in  
 the field ?  
 “ ‘ Now to-morrow I will run and arrive with all my followers,  
 “ ‘ Not one will be let go alive, I have thrown down the door  
 of audience,  
 “ ‘ Like a tiger I will devour their flesh, I will divide them  
 into little bits,  
 “ ‘ Then rooting up Bārah brick by brick, I will throw it into  
 the water.  
 755 “ ‘ By my strong arm I obtained superiority over the Princes,  
 “ ‘ By strength of sword, by strength of war I became lord of  
 Hind,  
 “ ‘ Defeating three Kings in battle, I took the sovereignty,  
 “ ‘ He claims the throne and to seize Dihli by stratagem.’  
 “ ‘ This order was sent, when the runaway reached Āgrah,  
 760 “ ‘ Stand fast there all together, seize all the fords and ferries,  
 “ ‘ Quickly erect three strong bridges below Bālabhupur,  
 “ ‘ I come by forced marches, collect supplies for a campaign.’  
 “ ‘ He sent for his *Bakhshī* and said ;— ‘ Make ready the horsemen,  
 “ ‘ Count out to all a two months’ advance, give them supplies,  
 765 “ ‘ Send off the quarter-master-general, then see to every place,  
 “ ‘ Make such plans that you may start in good order this night.’  
 “ ‘ Next orders issued to send for all the nobles near at hand,  
 “ ‘ He enforced on them the order, they must move that very  
 night ;  
 “ ‘ As morn arose the whole army must gather in splendour,  
 770 “ ‘ Must hurry on to Āgrah and occupy Itāwah,  
 “ ‘ As soon as the order went forth, at once arose confusion and  
 shouts in the city,  
 “ ‘ The nobles armed, the horsemen made ready, at dawn the  
 kettle-drums sounded ;  
 “ ‘ When he himself mounted, thick clouds gathered, great  
 dread arose ;  
 “ ‘ It was an ill omen, all said— ‘ Alas ! Kālī is angry ’ !  
 775 “ ‘ On the right a kite called, in front to the left a crow croaked,  
 “ ‘ And a cow’s throat was cut, cats spat, and wrangled,  
 “ ‘ The standard caught, the staff broke, a very bad omen,  
 “ ‘ When Mu’izzu-d-din started, evil omens succeeded each other.  
 “ ‘ In daylight an owl screeched amidst the camp, and foxes  
 called,  
 780 “ ‘ Here a dog howls like a *suranī*, there a pack of jackals yells,

- “Groups of vultures whirl over their heads, this is very unlucky ;  
 “The soldiers in their dreams thought they fled all the night.  
 “With their heads all full of portents and evil omens,  
 “They speedily reached Āgrah, halted at Samūgarh ;  
 785 “There came ‘Izzu-d-din and all the runaways,  
 “As to the hardships of the battle they invented many fables.  
 “Angrily spoke Mu‘izzu-d-din;—‘I will now pay out the Sayyids,  
 “‘When I have overcome the enemy, then I shall triumph over the Bārḥah,  
 “‘All the trouble is their doing, rancour appeared in their hearts,  
 790 “‘I will fight them in every way and try conclusions with them.  
 “‘Sādāt Khān, acting out of spite, obeys his kinsman’s word,  
 “‘Farzand Khān, his son, galloped in front of all the army,  
 “‘The man called Ṣamṣāmu-d-dāulah, his sword I will splinter ;  
 “‘In battle-field against me who will now venture to stand ?  
 795 “‘At first Chabile Rām attended ‘Izzu-d-din’s court,  
 “‘Then went off to the other side, the wretch, and deceived me,  
 “‘Also ‘Ali Aṣghar Khān came, then marched away to the others,  
 “‘Thought lightly of Mu‘izzu-d-din. Behold their hearts’ !  
 “Saying this he paraded his army, there were five *lakhs* of horsemen,  
 800 “When naming *lakhs*, two lords of elephants count as many thousands,  
 “Then he discharged his cannon, the sky was hidden by smoke,  
 “Earth’s axis yielded, Meru was rent, such was the strength of this army.”  
 Thus wrote Siroman Dās Rāe, ordered it to be carried quickly thither ;  
 The letter-carrier reached the audience-hall of Quṭbu-l-mulk,  
 805 The contents were read aloud clearly by Ṣāhib Rām, Māthur ;  
 Hearing it his eyes reddened, his mind was overcast with rage.  
 Laughing spoke ‘Abdullāh Khān, “That king is very aggressive,  
 “If I now get the auspicious order of the king of kings,  
 “Farrukhsiyar’s good fortune and God’s grace being inseparable,  
 810 “This very day I rush to battle and break the strength of Mu‘izzu-d-din’s arm.”

On hearing the news he made a resolve, he went the rounds,  
 His retinue having been made ready, the Sayyid rode forth,  
 Joyous, with hand on moustache, he went to see the king,  
 Reported everything, made glad the heart of the king of  
 kings.

- 815 What Mir Jumlah wrote in his report to the Sayyid Wazīr,  
 Both were of like contents, the degradation of lord and  
 noble ;

The eyes of the World Lord were filled with heroism, the  
 steadfast in battle,

His sword trailing at his side, the hero's hand played on his  
 moustache till it bristled,

When the lord of all the Bārhaḥs, the hero, Sayyid and  
 Wazīr, had told his tale,

- 820 Came Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, and joined with new  
 equipments,

Twenty thousand mail-clad horse came, looking like a cloud,  
 All heroes and strong, all hard of heart and hand.

Then king Farrukh gave him orders: "I have decided to  
 march,

"Muḥammad Khān! parade your men and march at once,

- 825 "To go with you brave fighting nobles and all things are ready,  
 "Arslān Khān has got out the advance tents, and starts to  
 the front this very day."

The retinue was made ready, at dawn the king of kings  
 mounted,

Then came Muḥammad Khān, verified twenty thousand horse,  
 He was made a *panj-hazārī*, all his officers became *maṇṣabdārs*,

- 830 They joined the vanguard, the hero hurried to the front.  
 March by march they hurried on, quickly came to Āgrah,  
 Both strong armies drank Jamnā's waters below Bālabhpur,  
 They met face to face on opposite banks, both armies pitched  
 their tents,

These wished to cross and attack, those on that side held all  
 paths and passages.

- 835 On both sides the drums resounded, all the waters were  
 moved and trembled,

On both sides flags fluttered, the pennants blazed to the stars,  
 The royal tents, lustrous as the cars of the gods, hid out the  
 heavens,

Throughout both armies were thousands of brisk movements,  
 the horses stamped their hoofs.



On both sides handsome tents, like suns and peacocks, delight  
the eye,

840 On both sides cannon are fired, keeping up their thunder,  
On both sides all kinds of crash and thump set up all sorts of  
sounds,

On both sides, night and day, the bullets and rockets fall like  
rain-drops.

Both sides are full of spirit, with eager desire for the contest,  
Both desired to cross and try their fortune, one constantly  
harassed the other;

845 As they draw near, the armies of the two Dilhi lords leap and  
bound,

The waves of the great river were restless, the waters grieved  
for both.

At this time the hero, Sayyid and Wazir, reported as soon as  
he came,

“My lord! Incarnation of Deity! they have come to tell us of  
firm ground,

“Not far to the west of Āgrah, the Jamnā has been forded,

850 “It can be forded right across.” Hearing, the king’s heart  
rejoiced.

They made up a story, spread rumours that Mu‘izzu-d-din had  
crossed,

This was noised on all sides, the strong, bold army made ready,  
Sending some men to face the enemy, the king of kings stood  
ready,

In the night rushed the Sayyid, then shivering and shaking  
crossed over.

855 The army standing in the enemy’s face to bar the way was  
recalled,

It marched some four *kos*, and for three or four hours halted,  
When the morning dawned, both parties mounted, with music  
playing,

In great haste the Lord of sword and bow came to the Jamnā  
crossing.

When the strong, valiant army arrived, the lucky time was  
fixed,

860 It was a swift stream, very powerful, full of tricks, hundreds  
of twists and turns,

The heaven-seated court fixed a bridge on the ocean,

First they found firm ground through the water, then they  
crossed the stream.



- In this way the king of kings crossed the Jamnā without hindrance,  
 Then next day at dawn, a *kos* or two east of Sikrandah,  
 865 In that place, near the river, the hungry army pitched its tents;  
 Learning their approach, confusion fell on Mu'izzu-d-dīn's army.  
 Hearing this news, Mu'izzu-d-dīn's mind was filled with rage,  
 He talked idly, "Friends, behold! now I rush and take him alive,  
 "Not one rebel shall escape, drawing I seize every one,  
 870 "I will torture those who have had the effrontery to join him."  
 So saying he rolled his eyes, drew his dagger from its sheath,  
 Flourishing his sword, trembling with rancour, twisting his moustaches, full of rage,  
 Sheathing every limb in armour, he mounted a war elephant,  
 The deep drums rumbled, in fear and trembling the fixed-pole turned on its axis.  
 875 Five lakhs of fighters followed, filled with eagerness for battle,  
 All clad in hauberk and breast-plate, themselves hard as steel through and through,  
 Thus the heroes passed the night, then marched forward south of Āgrab,  
 Then as morn broke, they hastened to their camp at Sikandrah.  
 The field of battle lay between, the two armies were some two *kos* apart,  
 880 These on the east side, and on the further side from the east in splendour  
 Both heroes shouted with joy, along with their nobles,  
 Then at dawn moved to slay their enemy, like the waves of Jamnā,  
 Wednesday, the full moon of Pūs, *Sambat* seventeen sixty-nine,  
 In the year eleven hundred and thirty-three, the fourteenth of Muḥarram month,  
 885 And of the imperial month Āzar the twenty-third, Çridhar avers,  
 The lucky hour for battle was fixed, the Lord of the World approved it.  
 Then next day for six hours Krishen sent rain in torrents,  
 When the clouds dispersed, the Sun Lord joyfully struck up his drums,

The army followed the hero and noble, the Sayyid Wazīr, as  
he did this,

890 Entirely filled with the joy of battle, he made the first venture  
into the battle-field.

Then the heroes mounted and stood, all the horsemen followed  
and stood,

Wherever troops were needed, thither they were despatched,  
All the groups advanced, the king's camp was filled like a river,  
The sun hastened, the tortoise trembled, the snake-king lost  
his strength.

Bilās Chand (895-999).

895 Receiving the king's orders with shouts,  
Qaṭbu-l-mulk rode to the right,  
Followed by the steel-clad heroes,  
Death-dealing and death-receiving warriors.

The Sayyid was followed by all the death-dealing warriors,  
full of efforts,

900 On the king's order they drew their swords, shouted, "Strike,  
Strike," roared hoarsely,  
Throwing down their reins, full of courage they galloped  
their horses into the battle,  
The big drums of 'Abdullāh Khān, the Sayyid, boomed deep  
and loud to the south.

Dilāzāk, Lodi, Lobānī,  
Pannī, Tarīn, Sūr, Sarwānī,

905 Dāūdzaī, Khweshgī, Gabī,  
Mahmand, Biṭṭanī, Pabī,  
Biṭṭanī, Pabī, Mattī, Gabī, holding their Arab horses,  
Clad in breastplate and shirt of mail, full of heart, joint in  
death or victory,  
Youthful, bold Pathāns, iron-covered, renders of mountains,  
in crowds,

910 Thus with 'Abdullah Khān advanced the hero Muḥammad  
Khān, the Bangash.

[ Lines 911-999 deal with episodes in the battle, introducing  
in each stanza the name of some chief. About twenty-eight  
men are mentioned, the only verse of special note is one  
(951-958) bringing in some tribal names :

*Gutrānī, Tarīn, Tīrāhī,  
Sarwānī, Mattanī, Enwāhī,  
Nassur, Giljī, Kāsab, Kākar,*

*Arab, Sūr, Niānjī, Nāgar,  
In front the Bhanār, Kāsi, Āgar, Panī, Ujāgar, Roshānī,  
Mahmand, Biṭṭanī, Jepharmanni (?), Chabī, Lodī, Lohānī,  
Bakhtiyārī, Rohelah, Yūsuf-khailī, Dilāzāk, and Sarwānī,  
These formed the brave array of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, the Dāūdzāi.*  
Then the metre changes to *Doharā* (1000-8), and two more names occur, those of the Nāgar leaders. Again from lines 1009-1248 we change to *Kavitta*, the verses being of the same character, the heroes of them being chiefly Chabīla Rām, Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah Khān Daurān, Sādāt Khān and Amīr Khān with their relations and followers. One verse will suffice as a specimen :

1109 Delighted, the Pure Master bestowed instantly the whole earth's wealth,

1110 By describing a giver of gold to the needy and wretched you name his full titles,

The big drums of continuous charity beat at his door loud and deep,

Of Mumtāz Khān, the strong, the hero, thus speaks, Ġridhar the Poet.

[ From 1113 to 1248 there are stanzas devoted each to the praise of one man, his relations or followers. The poet exerts himself to give each some special praise but necessarily falls into a good deal of repetition. The metre then changes. ]

#### Hira Chaud (1249-1308).

1249 Then Mu'izzu-d-din waxed wroth,

Put on all sides active troops,

In the vanguard Kokaltāsh Khān,

Strong, alert, heroic, used to victory.

[ In a similar manner the names of various nobles are introduced into the next fourteen verses (1253-1308). ]

#### Harigita Chand (1309-1464).

1309 On both sides the armies were ready, shouting the fighters stood,

1310 Then beat the kettle-drums on the elephants, the haughty north-pole trembled,

A mist spread, white as milk, the sun's brightness was hid,

Meru tottered and stooped, its sides moved, its very being was threatened.

- On both sides the splendid armies were emulous in the battle-waves,  
Elephant-pieces, cannon, rockets, often kindled, thundered inexpressibly,
- 1315 Fire-locks raised dust and darkness, both sides fired all their field-pieces,  
Next spoke uncounted matchlocks, then the faithful fell in heaps,  
The field-pieces went off "kar, kar, karā, kar," striking with a sharp blow,  
On all sides the drum-beats rolled, smoke and dust floated, with great heat,  
Many rockets sped like lightning, the bullets struck like hail,
- 1320 No one's garb could be seen, whether the fighter was of your side or the other.  
Then the veil of mist lifted, to both sides it was like the dawn,  
The valiant nobles and heroes shouted, they took their bows in their hands,  
They galloped onwards, their reins moved like stormy waves,  
Loud cries arose, "Strike, Strike, Strike," a darkness covered the field.
- 1325 Their arrows flew "tar-tar," rockets hissed "sar-sar," bullets whistled "bhar-bhar,"  
With foot advanced, onward and onward went many excellent heroes and lords,  
The valiant with reddened faces, full of joy, the cowards all pallid and trembling,  
Just as seeing a beggar the generous look happy, the miser, uneasy and displeased.  
On both sides, in both armies, brave fought with brave most bravely,
- 1330 The scamps were driven off by the valiant forcibly, hero fought with hero,  
Swords whirled, scimitars were grasped, the heroes cut heads open,  
With a flash came a wound; how many fell smarting!  
[Lines 1332-1432, these describe the doughty deeds of each leader, one by one, but do not advance the story.]
- 1433 Death giving and taking, the field-pieces and elephant-guns roared and sounded,  
There was a tempest of matchlocks, the strong rockets twisted about,

- 1435 There arrows, eager, bewildering, brought to many the hoped-  
for mercy of Paradise,  
The sky-chariot of the sun reached its setting, the time was  
clouded.  
Then hero struggled with hero, with angry looks brave strove  
with brave,  
Cries arose, "Strike, Strike, Strike," shouting they fell in  
heaps,  
The loyal, comely Arabs, the comely heroes, stood fast,
- 1440 Where there is meeting and assembly how could they turn  
away their faces.  
[Lines 1441-1452 are devoted to a recital of the names of  
fighters.]
- 1453 Everywhere the armies, full of zeal, caused much slaughter,  
Weapons, heavy, two-edged, numerous, fell like torrents of  
rain,
- 1455 Chain-mail, vizor, helm were beaten soft, the plates of the  
fish-scales fell off,  
Calling "Strike, Strike," hearing "Stand fast, friend, stand  
fast," they made effort.  
Growling and dark like lowering clouds the proud army moved  
in circles,  
Great drums roared and rattled, drawn swords glanced and  
glittered,  
With a swish fell the arrows, bullet upon bullet came like hail  
at that time,
- 1460 A mire of brains collected, when the Sayyid drew his sword.  
He stands full of anger, tossing his head, causing many  
wounds, holding his ground,  
Heads are lost, ears drop, bodies were collected in mounds,  
Blood began to flow in rivers, the stream began to flow on,  
The flesh-rending arrows carried destruction wherever they fell.

Kavita Chand (1465-1576).

- 1465 When waves expand day by day, how can the poet keep count,  
'tis the work of the mad-like fighters,  
To the edge of the snowy hills he drives the invader, who can  
come that he overcomes not at will,  
The well-named leader, the loved lord of prowess, the great  
chief and peerless,  
Of the famous king, Lord Shatrusāl, great, brave, liberal, he  
tells the lustre.

[1469-1532, Chattarsāl, Muṣliḥ Khān and some others are introduced. We draw near to the end of the battle.]

1533 King Farrukhshiyar and Jahāndār Shāh both fought for the throne in front of Āgrah,

The conqueror beats his drums, the defeated fled, the warriors forgetting all turned their bridle-reins,

1535 Resolutely, verily diverting rivers, did A'zam Khān, strong and loyal, uphold the cause of his king,

As in the Mahābhārat the weak king was chased away by Bhīm, strong of arm, at Kurukhet.

[Lines 1537-1544 give the praises of A'zam Khān.]

1545 To see Farrukhshiyar, the conqueror, full of delight at Mu'izzu-d-din's defeat,

Beating drums, turning his reins, came Chabila Rām

[Māri par dal bar khāyo jūth jogini ko karat baḍāi siwā saṅkar hilākh hai]

One hero many thousands has slain in one moment, counting them one.

[Lines 1549-1576 relate various phases of the fighting, and introduce the names of many leaders. A *dohā*, 1577-78 is of the same nature.]

#### Kavita (1579-1632).

[Lines 1579-1598 are mere catalogues of names.]

1599 A festival of joy and gladness heightened the delight of all, the colour of things had brightened,

1600 Thy reign adds lustre to sovereignty, the fruit of fortune and felicity;

The happily-named king of kings, Farrukhshiyar, the man of the lucky star,

In his day the throne was adorned, when he sat on the throne, the good fortune of that throne was enhanced.

Shaking the south, conquering west and east, this unparalleled man has come with strong hand,

The fortunate king of kings, Farrukhshiyar, has brought the seven isles within the realm of Hind,

1605 Daily he increases, also the Faith, he has extended his sovereignty over faith and the world,

When a king is adorned with sovereignty, he should thus obtain it.

His horsemen herded them like a flock of sheep, the army rent, he robbed the nest of A'azzu-d-din,



- Rushed from the east, scared away like starlings the army of  
the pretender, Mu'izzu-d-dīn,  
The fortunate king of kings, Farrukhshiyar, defender of the  
two faiths;  
1610 From realm to realm ran the news of victory, the haughty  
feared, the humble were enraptured,  
Some pod, some pea free from weevil, some one not the slave  
of a harlot,  
Handsome, graceful, brave, excellent, young, a man beyond  
compare,  
Fortunate, a second King Akbar, has Farrukhshiyar obtained  
sovereignty,  
He wields sovereign strength, to see him is delight, wearing  
the garland of victory.  
[The remaining lines are devoted to Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān,  
Sayyid Anwar Khān, Sarbuland Khān, and Mir Mushrif,  
ending with line 1630.]

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NOTES.

Line 18, the allusion is to 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān, Farrukhshiyar's father.  
—l. 145, *ādam* for *āmad*, (Persian) "coming, approach,"—l. 394. This  
is the 'Īd of the 1st Shawwāl, 1124 H.=31st Oct., 1712. According to  
Kāmwar Khān, the prince observed the 'Īd on the right bank of the  
Ganges, opposite Benares, and crossed the river on the 2nd Shawwāl.  
Farrukhshiyar was at Jhūsī on the 13th (12th November, 1712)—ll.  
411, 413, Kumwarpur and Bindukī are both named by Kāmwar Khān;  
Fathābād is probably a name for Kajwah—l. 422. The "battle-  
pillar" is possibly an allusion to the *raṇ-khaṃbh*, a wooden post said to  
have stood in the midst of the Kurukhet at Thānesar—l. 615, I have  
failed to make anything of this line—l. 706, "hand" = *panjah*, the  
figure of an open hand, one of the honorary distinctions granted by the  
Emperors—l. 744, *Sāṃchuhai*, "the true one," a Hindi equivalent  
of the epithet *Ṣādiq*, borne by Luṭfullāh Khān, in token of his  
descent from one of the twelve Imāms, Ja'faru-ṣ-ṣādiq.—l. 780, *Suranī*,  
a long horn, to the sound of which a dog's howling may well be likened.  
ll. 883-85. Not only do these dates seem wrong, but they are  
hopelessly irreconcilable with each other. If we take the day of the  
week, Wednesday, as correct, then the battle was fought on the 11th  
January, 1713, N.S., which by the usual computation agrees with the  
13th Zu'l-Hijjah 1124 H., the date given by the historians. The 14th  
Muḥarram (1125) was a Thursday or Friday, not a Wednesday. As for



the *teisā* (33) of the text, this may be a clerical error for *teisā* (23); but the latter year (1123 H.) is equally impossible, for Bahādūr Shāh did not die till the 21st Muḥarram, 1124 H., more than a year afterwards. Then the *Sam̄bat* year 1769 began, according to Cunningham's tables, on the 28th March, 1712, and Pūs pūranmāsī, being the 280th day, comes out as the 1st January, 1713 (3rd Zu'l-Hijjah 1124 H.), or ten days too early. Nor does the poet's Mahomedan date, 14th Muḥarram, agree, as will be seen, with this *Sam̄bat* date. So with the Ilāhī era. Āzar being the 9th month, and the year beginning on the 20th March, the 23rd of that month is the 270th day of the year, equivalent to the 15th December, 1712, agreeing neither with the Hijra nor Sam̄bat date. I make out the synchronism, to be, 13th Zu'l-Hijjah 1124 H. = 22nd Day of the Ilāhī era = S. 1769, Māgh badi 10th = 11th January, 1713.\* *Khāfi Khān*, II, 721, has 13th Zu'l-Hijjah = 19th Day.—11.905, 906, I am not sure whether *Gabī* is a tribal name, or a mere epithet used to fill out the line. The Pabbi are a sub-division of the Afridis, see "Dictionary of the Pathan Tribes," Calcutta, 1899.—1. 1547, I can make nothing out of this line.

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\* [By Prof. Jacobi's Tables, published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. i, pp. 443 ff., I find that *Samvat* 1769, full-moon day of Pūs fell on Wednesday, 11th January, 1713, N.S., as required. *Māgha vadī* 10 corresponds to Sunday, 22nd January, 1713, N.S., according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar fortnights, or to Monday, 20th February, 1713, N.S., according to the *amānta* scheme of lunar fortnights.—Ed.]

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*A New Copper-plate Inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena.—By BABU AKSHAY*

KUMAR MAITRA, B.L.

[Read, June 1899.]

The copper-plate — bearing this Inscription, was discovered in the month of Bhādra 1898, in the village of Anulia, near Ranaghat, in the District of Nadia. It has been edited previously in my journal, the *Aitiḥāsika Citra*, by Pandit Rajanikanta Cakravartti of Maldah. I now re-edit it from the original plate.

The plate measures  $13\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $12\frac{1}{2}$ " and bears on both sides a Sanskrit Inscription in 56 lines partly in prose and partly in verse. The writing is of the Bengali variety of the North-East Indian Alphabet of the 12th century and intimately agrees with the characters of the other well-known documents of the Sena Dynasty. The spelling is on the whole very correct, and no remarks as to orthography are called for. The seal, bearing the image of a ten-armed deity, is attached to the top of the plate.

The Inscription opens with the words *Oṃ! Namo Nārāyaṇāya*, and an invocation to Āmbhu and the Moon, after which the well-known genealogy of the Sena Kings from Hemanta to Lakṣmaṇasena is recorded in exactly the same words as in the Tarpan Dighi Plate,<sup>1</sup> but with this exception only that instead of verse VIII of the Tarpan Dighi Plate, three other verses are added (ll. 18-24) in praise of the liberality and bravery of Lakṣmaṇasena, which, however, do not mention a single historical fact.

The object of the Inscription is to record a grant made by *Lakṣmaṇasenadeva*, who is styled as *Parameṣvara-Paramavaiṣṇava-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* and who is described as meditating over the feet of *Mahārājādhirāja-çri-Vallālasena*. The grant was made

<sup>1</sup> Edited in *this Journal*, Vol. XLIV, for 1875, Part I, pp. 1-15, with two facsimile Plates. Another copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena has been discovered last year at Madhainagar, near Serajganj, in the Pabna District. It is, however, yet unedited.



by him while he was staying at his camp in *Vikramapura* (ll. 27 ff.), and consisted of a portion of a field in *Matharaṇḍiyā* (*Mātharaṇḍiyā-khaṇḍa-kṣetra*; l. 38) which is described as lying in *Vyāghrataṭi*, a place or district belonging to the *bhukti* of *Paunḍravarddhana* (ll. 37 ff.). This piece of land was given to a Pandit, *Raghudevaçarmman* by name, the son of *Devadāsadevaçarmman* and grandson of *Çaṅkaradevaçarmman*, and great-grandson of *Vipradāsadevaçarmman*, who belonged to the *Kauçika-gotra*, and studied the *Kāṇva-çākhā* of the *Yajurveda* (ll. 70 ff.).

The grant was made on the 9th day of *Bhādra*, in the 3rd year of *Lakṣmaṇasena*'s reign (l. 56). This date taking the year 1119 A.D., the epoch of the *Lakṣmaṇasena* Era, as the beginning of his reign, corresponds to A.D. 1121-22. The Minister for piece and war, *Nārāyaṇa-datta*, acted as *dūtaka* (ll. 54-55).

Historically we gather no new information from this inscription. I am unable to identify the exact position of the localities mentioned in the grant.

I now edit the Inscription from the original Plate :—

*Obverse :*

- (l. 1,) Om namo Nārāyaṇāya || Vidyud<sup>1</sup>=yatra maṇi-dyutiḥ phaṇi-pater=vvā(bbā)lendur=indr-āyudham vāri
- (l. 2,) svargga-taraṅgiṇi sita-çiro-mālā valāk-āvaliḥ | dhyān-ābhyaśa-samiraṇ-opani-
- (l. 3,) hitaḥ çreyo-ṅkur-odbhūṭaye bhūyād=vaḥ sa bhav-ārṭti-tāpa-bhiduraḥ Çambhoḥ kapardd-āmvu(mbu)daḥ ||
- (l. 4,) Ānando=mvu(mbu)-nidhau cakora-nikare duḥkhacchid=ātyantiki kalhāre hata-mohatā Rati-
- (l. 5,) patāv=eko=ham=ev=eti dhiḥ | yasy=āmi amṛt-ātmanaḥ samudayanty=āçu prakāçāj=jagaty=A-
- (l. 6,) trer=dhyāna-paramparā-pariṇatam jyotis=tav=āstām=mude || Sev<sup>2</sup>-āvanamra-nṛpa-koṭi-kirī-
- (l. 7,) ṭa-rocir-amv(mb)-ūllasat-pada-nakha-dyuti-vallaribhiḥ | tejo-ṛiṣa-jvara-muṣo dviṣatām=a-
- (l. 8,) bhūvan bhūmibhujāḥ sphuṭam=ath=auśadhi-nātha-vamçe || Ā<sup>3</sup>-kaumāra-vikasvarair=ddiçi di-
- (l. 9,) çi prasyandibhir=ddor-yaçaḥ-prāleyai ripu-rāja-vaktra-nalina-mlāniḥ samunmilayan | He-
- (l. 10,) MANTAḤ sphuṭam=eva Sena-janana<sup>4</sup>-ksetr-augha-puṇy-āvali-çāli-çlāghya-vipāka-pivara-guṇas=te-

<sup>1</sup> Metre : Çārdūlavikriḍita; and of the next verse.      <sup>2</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : Çārdūlavikriḍita.

<sup>4</sup> The second *na* has been inserted later.

- (1. 11,) śām=abhūd=vaṃṇaḥ || Yadiyair<sup>1</sup>=ady=āpi pracita-bhuja-  
tejas-sahacarair=yaṇobhiḥ ṇobhanto  
(1. 12,) paridhi-pariṇaddhā iva diḥ || tataḥ kāñci-lilā-catura-catur-  
ambhodhi-labari-parit-orvvi-  
(1. 13,) bhartā=jani VIJAYASENAḥ sa vijayi || Pratyūhaḥ<sup>2</sup> kali-  
sampadām=analo vedāya naik-ādhvagaḥ  
(1. 14,) saṅgrāmaḥ grīta-jaṅgam-ākṛti=abhūd=VALLĀSENAŚ=tataḥ |  
yaṇ-cetomayam=eva śaura-vijayi  
(1. 15,) da[t\*]tv=auśadham tat-kṣaṇād=akṣiṇā racayāñ=cakāra  
vaṇagaḥ svamin paṇṇam ṇriyaḥ || Sambhukt-ā-  
(1. 16,) nya-dig-angana-ṇa-ṇu-ābhoga-pralobhād=diḥ=īḥair=  
amṇa-samarpaṇena ghaṇṇita=tat-tat-prabhāva-sphu-  
(1. 17,) taiḥ | dor-uṇa-kṣapit-āri-saṅgara-raso rājanya-dharm-  
āṇṇayaḥ ṇimal-LAKṢMAṆASENA-bhūpati=a-  
(1. 18,) taḥ saujanya-simā=jani || Āmnāyaḥ paṇṇināya yāni munayo  
yāny=asmaran samstutāny=ā-  
(1. 19,) cāreṇu ca yāni tāni dadire dānāni dainya-druhā | hriṇattve  
ca tathā=py=anena niyamam kā-  
(1. 20,) leṇu samkhyātātān=deyeṇv=artthinam=antareṇa ca phal-  
āṇṇam-sā-vidhau ṇṇvatā || Samayam<sup>3</sup>=api sa-  
(1. 21,) muddhataṇ numas=tam tad-asimā=mauśadham=udva(dba)-  
bhūva yatra | bhavati para-pura-praveṇa-siddhiḥ kara-vi-  
(1. 22,) dhṛte sakṛd=eva yasya mūle || Yān<sup>4</sup> samva(mba) ndhya  
jaṇat-trayi-vitarāṇe mittrair=Vva(Bba)lir=vvāritoyaiḥ sa-  
(1. 23,) ṇgama na Gaṅgayā kṣaṇam=api svarggo=pi samsmariyate |  
tān=uccair=atiṇayi-ṇali-vasudhān=ā-  
(1. 24,) rāma-ramy-āntarān=viprebhyo=yam=adatta pattana-ṇaṇ  
bhūmipati=vbhū (bbhū)yaś(ṇa)ḥ || Sa khalu ṇri-Vi-  
(1. 25,) KRAMAPURA-samāvāsita-ṇrimaj-jaya-skandhāvārati Mahārājā-  
dhirāja-ṇri-VALLĀSENA-  
(1. 26,) DEVA-pād-ānudhyāta-Parameṇvara-Paramavaiṇṇava-Pa[ra\*]-  
mahatṇāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-ṇrima-  
(1. 27,) I-LAKṢMAṆASENADEVAḥ kuṇali samupagat-āṇṇa-rāja-rājanya-  
ka-rājñi-rāṇaka-rājapu-  
(1. 28,) tra-rājāmātya-purohita-mahādharmmādhyakṇa-mahāsān-  
dhivigrahika-mahāsenāpati-

*Reverse :*

- (1. 29,) mahāmudrādhiṇṇa-antarāṇṇavṇ(bṇ)haduparika-mahākṇa-  
paṇalika-mahāpratibhāra-mahā-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: ṇikharinī.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: ṇārdulavikṛṇita; and of the next two verses.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Puṇpitāgrā.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: ṇārdulavikṛṇita.

- (1. 30,) bhogika-mahāpilupati-mahāgaṇastha-daussādhika-caurod-  
dharāṇika-nau-va (ba)la-ha-
- (1. 31,) sty-açva-go-mahiṣ-ājāvik-ādi-vyāpṛtaka-gaulmika-daṇḍapā-  
çika-daṇḍanāyaka-ṣiṣa-
- (1. 32,) yapaty-ādin | anyāṃç=ca sakala-rāja-pādopajivino s dhyakṣa-  
pracār-oktān=ih=āki-
- (1. 33,) rttitān | catṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātiyān janapadān | kṣetrakarāṃç=ca  
vrā(brā)hmaṇān vrā(brā)hmaṇottarān yathā-
- (1. 34,) rham mānayati vo(bo)dhayati samādiçati ca | matam=astu  
bhavatām | yathā çri-PAUṆPRAVARDDHANA-bhukty-antaḥ-
- (1. 35,) pāti-VYĀGHRATATYĀM | pūrvve açvattha-vrkṣaḥ sīmā | dakṣiṇe  
jala-pillā sīmā | paçcime Çā-
- (1. 36,) ntigopī-çāsanam sīmā | uttare mālāmañca-vāṭī sīmā | ittham  
catuḥ-sim-āvaccchinnaṁ vṣabha-ça-
- (1. 37,) ṇkara-nalina-sakākinika-sapta-trimṇad-unmān-ādhik-ādh-  
āvāp-ānvita-nava-droṇ-ottara-bhū-pāṭa-
- (1. 38,) k-aik-ātmakam saṁvatsareṇa kaparddaka-purāṇa-çat-aik-  
otpattikam MĀTHARAṆḍIYĀ-KHAṆḍA-KṢETRAṀ sa-jhā-
- (1. 39,) ṭa-viṭapam<sup>1</sup> sa-jala-sthalam sa-gartt-oṣaram sa-guvāka-  
nārikelaṁ sahya-daç-āparādhām parihṛta-sarvva-
- (1. 40,) pidaṁ a-catṭa-bhaṭṭa-praveçam a-kiñcit-pragrāhyam tṛṇa-  
yūti-gocara-paryantaṁ VIPRADĀSADEVA-
- (1. 41,) ÇARMMANAḤ prapauttrāya ÇAṆKARADEVAÇARMMANAḤ pauttrāya  
DEVADĀSADEVAÇARMMANAḤ puttrāya Kau-
- (1. 42,) çika-sagotrāya Viçvāmitra-Va(Ba)ndhula-Kauçika-prava-  
rāya Yajurvveda-Kāṇva-çākh-ādhyāyi-
- (1. 43,) ne Paṇḍita-çri-RAGHUDEVAÇARMMANE puṇye s hani vidhivad=  
udaka-pūrvvakam Bhagavantaṁ çrīman-Nā-
- (1. 44,) rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiçya mātāpitror=ātmanaç=ca punya-  
yaço s bhivṛddhaye<sup>2</sup> utsṛjya ā-
- (1. 45,) candr-ārkkam kṣiti-sama-kālam<sup>3</sup> yāvat bhūmi-cchidra-  
nyāyena tāmraçāsani-kṛtya pradattam=asmā-
- (1. 46,) bhiḥ | Tad=bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ev=ānumantavyam | Bhāvi-  
bhīr=api nṛpatibhīr=apaharaṇe nara-
- (1. 47,) ka-pāṭa-bhayāt pālāne dharmma-gauravāt pālaniyam |  
Bhavanti c=ātra dharmm-ānuçam-
- (1. 48,) sinaḥ çlokaḥ | Bhūmim<sup>4</sup> yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti yaç=ca bhūmim  
prayacchati | ubhau<sup>5</sup> tau punya-

<sup>1</sup> This reading has been first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 185, note 1.      <sup>2</sup> Read *punya-yaço-bhivṛddhaye*, without *avagraha* sign.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam*.      <sup>4</sup> Metre : Anuṣṭubh (Çloka) ; and of the next two verses.      <sup>5</sup> The letter *u* has been added later.

- (1. 49,) karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || Sva-dattāṁ para-  
dattāṁ=vā yo hareta va-
- (1. 50,) sundharām | sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir=bhūtvā piṭṛbhis=saha  
pacyate || Āsphotayanti
- (1. 51,) pitaro valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kule jātas=sa nas=  
trātā bhavi-
- (1. 52,) syati || Iti<sup>1</sup> kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lolām Cṛiyam=  
anucintya manuṣya-jīvitāṁ ca |
- (1. 53,) sakalam=idam=udāhṛtaṁ ca vuddhā(buddhvā) na hi  
puruṣaiḥ para-kirttayo vilo-
- (1. 54,) pyāḥ || Cṛimal<sup>2</sup>-Lakṣmaṇaseno NĀRĀYAṆADATTA-Sāndhivigra-  
hikam |
- (1. 55,) Raghudevaçāsane śkr̥ta dūtaṁ bhū-maṇḍali-va(ba)la-  
bhit ||
- (1. 56,) Saṁ 3 Bhādra-dine 9 mahāsām ni || cṛini<sup>3</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Puṣpitaḡrā.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāsām ni* probably is an abbreviation for *mahāsāṁdhivigrahikena nibaddham*.  
The last two syllables perhaps are the king's endorsement of the document.

*The Manahali Copper-plate Inscription of Madanapāladeva.—*

By BABU N. N. VASU.

[Read, March 1899.]

The subjoined edition of a new inscription of Madanapāladeva has been prepared from a copper-plate kindly presented to this Society in 1899 by Mr. N. K. Bose, C.S., then Magistrate of Dinajpur. The plate on which the inscription is engraved, was discovered in excavating a tank in 1875 within a park of the village of Manahali,<sup>1</sup> in District Dinajpur, Bengal.

The Inscription consists of 53 lines of writing, engraved on the two sides of a single copper-plate, measuring  $15\frac{3}{4}$ " by 16". At the top of the plate the SEAL is soldered on. It shows the usual emblem of the Pāla kings, viz., the Buddhistic wheel of Law with a deer kneeling on each side, facing it. Below this we may still recognize the king's name: *Çri-Madanapālah*, and on the top of the seal traces of small Stūpa are still visible. The WRITING belongs to the Bengali variety of the Nāgarī Alphabet of about the 12th century; as compared with the earlier inscriptions of the Pāla Dynasty, it shows a marked development towards more modern forms. Its execution is on the whole done fairly well; in one place, however, it has been impossible to make out exactly the meaning of the letters; unfortunately, this passage contains the name of the village, granted by the king (ll. 32-33). The *avagraha* sign is frequently used in this inscription; final letters are marked by the sign of *virāma*, which, however, seems to have been left out by carelessness in some instances, where in order to avoid unnecessary corrections in the subjoined transcript the letter has been put down as final. In regard to ORTHOGRAPHY, I desire to draw attention to the spelling *ttajan*, for *tyajan* in l. 14; *prattarhi*, for *pratyarthi* in l. 24; and also *puṇair*, for *puṇyair* in l. 16. Instances of this kind may be taken as originating from a pronunciation of the compound letters *tya* and *nya*,

<sup>1</sup> The "Munhlee" of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 119, 6 miles south of Deokot; Long. 88° 35' E.; Lat. 25° 19' N.

which almost closely resembled the modern Bengali pronunciation of the same. The LANGUAGE is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the introductory benediction (in line 1) and the portion containing the grant (lines 27-49), it is in verse. At the top of the inscription, we find the letter *ni* engraved four times in one line; this appears to be the official endorsement of the document, *ni* probably being an abbreviation of the term *nibaddham* used in similar cases.

The INSCRIPTION divides itself into :—

(a) a genealogical portion, in verse, giving the names of 19 princes of the Pāla family of Magadha, 17 of which appear to have been reigning kings (ll. 1-27);

(b) the portion containing the grant, in prose (ll. 27-49);

(c) the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses; this portion ends with the mention of the name of the person who acted as *dūtaka* and of the engraver; it is in verse throughout (ll. 49-58).

With reference to the GENEALOGY OF THE PĀLA KINGS as recorded in this Inscriptions, I need merely point out that up to Vighrahapāla III. it almost verbally agrees with the corresponding passage in the Amgachi Plate (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 100). The only notable difference is that the verses beginning with *yam svāminam rājaganair=anūnam* (ll. 13-14), and with *deṣe prāci pracura-payasi* (ll. 19-21) have been left out in this Inscription. I may also note that by the reading of this Inscription it is now possible to correct the passage read doubtfully as *viṣva-priye* in l. 15 of the Amgachi Plate and in l. 20 of the Dinajpur Plate of Mahipāla (*this Journal*, Vol. LXI, 1892, Part I, p. 83); the corresponding passage in the present Inscription (l. 13) distinctly reads *netra-priye*, which appears to be the correct reading. From Vighrahapāla III., onwards, we then have the following succession of kings :—

(1) MAHĪPĀLA II., son of Vighrahapāla III., (l. 18);

(2) ĀURAPĀLA, son of Vighrahapāla III., and younger brother of Mahipāla II., (l. 20);

(3) RĀMAPĀLA, another son of Vighrahapāla III., and brother of Mahipāla II., and of Āurapāla (l. 21);

(4) KUMĀRAPĀLA, son of Rāmapāla (l. 23);

(5) GOPĀLA III., son of Kumārapāla (l. 24);

(6) MADANAPĀLA, son of Rāmapāla and Madanadevi (l. 26).

The portion of the inscription giving the pedigree of these six kings, appears to be corrupt in some passages, and is not entirely intelligible to me. As, however, no real historical facts are mentioned in those verses, I trust that I will be excused in refraining myself from giving a translation. I merely wish to point out here, that the names



of the first two kings, Mahipāla II., and Ćurapāla, have been made known to us for the first time only very recently in a notice on the *Rāmacarita*, a poetical biography of Rāmapāla, discovered by my learned friend, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, and published in the *Proceedings of this Society*, March 1900, p. 70 ff. They are omitted in the pedigree of Pāla kings, occurring in the Kamauli Plates of Vaidyadeva of Prāgjyotiṣa (*Epigr. Indica*, Vol. II, p. 350), from which record we have been already acquainted with the names of their two successors, Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla. Of Madanapāla, we possess a short dedicatory inscription, dated in his 19th year, while the name of Gopāla III., his nephew and predecessor on the Pāla throne, is entirely new to us. As to Madanapāla's time, I can only say that I believe him to have lived in the first half of the 12th century A.D.

The grant made by him on the occasion of his queen, the Paṭṭamahādevi Citramatikā, consisted of a village perhaps named Kāṣṭhāgiri, lying in the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya, and belonging to the Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti. It was given to a Brahman, Vateṣvarasvāmiçarman, son of Çaunakasvāmin, grandson of Prajāpatīsvāmin, and great-grandson of Vatsasvāmin, an inhabitant of Campāhiṭṭi, student of the Kautthuma Çākhā of the Sāmaveda, fellow-student of Bhūṣaṇa, and belonging to the Kautsa Gotra and Çāṇḍilya-Asitadevala Pravara (ll. 42-45). The village was given to him as a *dakṣiṇā*, after having read the Mahābhārata for the benefit of the Queen. The passage recording this fact, is of peculiar interest; it reads (l. 45 ff.): *Paṭṭamahādevi-çrī-Citramatikayā Vedavyāsa-prokta-prapāḥita-Mahābhārata-samutsarjita-dakṣiṇātvena Bhagavantam-Buddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiçya çāsanī-kṛtya pradatto śmābhikḥ*. The order confirming the grant was issued from the royal camp at Rāmavati, situated on the banks of the Ganges (l. 30). It was given in the king's 8th year, on the 15th lunar day of Caitra (ll. 49 and 57). The minister of peace and war, Bhimadeva, acted as *dūtaka* (l. 57). The engraver's name was Tathāgatasara (l. 58). With the exception of the Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti and the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya, the names of the localities mentioned in this inscription are new to us; I am unable to identify any of them.

I now edit the Inscription from the original plate.

*The Seal:*

(ÇRĪ-MADANAPĀLAḤ.)

*The Plate. Obverse:*

(l. 1.) Om̐ namo Vu(Bu)ddhāya || Svasti || Maitrīm<sup>1</sup> kārūṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ preyaśīm sandadhānaḥ samyak-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Sragdharā.



samvo(mbo)dhi-vidyā-sarid-amala-jalaḥ(la)-kṣāli-

- (1. 2,) t-ājñāna-paṅkaḥ | jītvā yaḥ kāmā-kāri-prabhavam=abhibhavam ṣaṣvatām(tīm) prāpa cānti(utīm) sa ṣrīmān lokanātho jayati Daṣava(ba)lo ṣ nyaṣ=ca GŌPĀLADEVA-
- (1. 3,) ḥ || Lakṣmī<sup>1</sup>-jauma-niketanam sama karo voḍhu[m\*] kṣamaḥ kṣmābharam pakṣa-ccheda-bhayād=upasthitavatām=ek-ācraḥyobhūbhrtām | maryādā-paripālan-aika-ni-
- (1. 4,) rataḥ ṣaury-ālayo ṣ smād=abhūt dugdh-āmbhodhi-vilāsa-hāsa-vasatiḥ ṣrī-DHARMAPĀLO nṛpaḥ || Rāmasy=eva grhīta-satya-tapasas=tasy=ānūrūpo guṇaiḥ
- (1. 5,) Saumitrer=udapādi tulya-mahimā VĀKPĀLA-nām=ānujaḥ [t\*] yaḥ ṣrīmān naya-vikram-aika-vasatir=bhrātuh sthitaḥ ṣāsane cūnyāḥ ṣatru-patākinibhir=a-
- (1. 6,) karod=ek-ātpatro<sup>2</sup> diṣaḥ || Tasmād<sup>3</sup>=Upendra-caritair=jaga-tīm punānaḥ putro va(ba)bhūva vijayī JAYAPĀLA-nāmā | dharmma-dviṣām ṣamayitā yudhi DEVAPĀLE yaḥ pū-
- (1. 7,) rvva-je bhuvana-rājya-sukhāny=anaṣīt || Ṣrīmad<sup>4</sup>-VIGRAHA-PĀLAS=tat-sūnur=Ajātaṣatru=iva jātaḥ | ṣatru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilopi-vimal-āsi-jala-dhāraḥ ||
- (1. 8,) Dik-pālaiḥ<sup>5</sup> kṣiti-pālanāya dadhataḥ dehe vibhaktān guṇān ṣrīmantaḥ janayām=va(ba)bhūva tanayaḥ NĀRĀYAṆAM sa tābhūm<sup>6</sup> | yaḥ kṣoṇi-patibhiḥ si(ṣi)romaṇi- rucā=
- (1. 9,) ṣṣiṣṭ-āṅghri-piṭh-opalaḥ nyāy-opāttam=alañ-cakāra caritaiḥ svair=eva dharmm-āsanam || Toy-āṣayair<sup>7</sup>=jjaladhi-mūla-gabhīra-garvbhai(rbbhai)r=dev-ālayaiṣ=ca kula-bhū-dhara-
- (1. 10,) tulya-kakṣaiḥ[ ] vikhyāta-kīrti(rtti)r=abhavat=tanayaṣ=ca tasya ṣrī-RĀJYAPĀLA iti madhyama-loka-pālaḥ || Tasmā-[t\*]<sup>8</sup>=pūrvva-kṣitidhrān=nidhir=iva mahasām RĀṢṬRA-
- (1. 11,) kūṭ-ānvay-e[ ] dos=TUṆGASY=ottunga-mauler=duhitari tanayo BHĀGYADEVYĀM prasūtaḥ | ṣrīmān GŌPĀLADEVAṣ=cirātaram=avaner=eka-patnyā iv=ai-
- (1. 12,) ko bharttā=bhūn=n-aika-ratna-dyuti-khacita-catuh-sindhu-citr-āṅgu(mṇu)kāyāḥ || Tasmād<sup>9</sup>=va(ba)bhūva savitur=vvasu-koṭi-vardhī kālena candra iva VIGRAHAPĀLA-
- (1. 13,) DEVAḥ | netra-priyeṇa vimalena kalāmayena yen=oditena

<sup>1</sup> Metre Čārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ekātpatro*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Āryā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Čārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>6</sup> Read *prabhūm* with the Amgachi and Dinajpur plates.

<sup>7</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

<sup>8</sup> Metre Sragdharā.

<sup>9</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

dalito bhuvanasya tāpaḥ || Hata<sup>1</sup>-sakala-vipakṣaḥ saṅgare  
vā(bā)hu-darpā(d<sup>2</sup>=a)nadhi-

- (1. 14,) kṛta-viluptaṁ rājyam=āsādyā pitryaṁ | nihita-carāṇa-padmo  
bhūbhṛtām mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=avanipālaḥ ṣṛi-  
MAHĪPĀLADEVAḥ || Ttajan<sup>3</sup> yo-
- (1. 15,) ś-āsaṅgaṁ ṣirasi kṛta-pādaḥ ksitibhṛtām vitanvan sarvv-  
ācāḥ prasabham=uday-ādrer=iva raviḥ | guṇa-grāmyā<sup>4</sup>  
snigdha-prakṛtir=anurāg-ai-
- (1. 16,) ka-vasatis=tato dhanyaḥ puṇ[y\*]air=aḥjani NAYAPĀLO nara-  
patiḥ || Pitah<sup>5</sup> saj-jana-locanaiḥ Smara-ripoḥ pūjā-nu-  
raktaḥ sadā saṅgrāme dha-
- (1. 17,) valo=dhika-grabakṛtām<sup>6</sup> kālāḥ kule vidviśām | cāturvvaru-  
ya-samācṛayaḥ sita-yaçāḥ-pūrain=jagaḥ=lambhayan tas-  
mā-d=VIGRAHAPĀLADEVA-nṛ-
- (1. 18,) patiḥ puṇyair=jjanānām=abhūt || Tan-<sup>7</sup>nandanaç=candana-  
vāri-hāri-kirtti-prabh-ānandita-viçva-gītaḥ | ṣṛimān=  
MAHĪPĀLA iti dvitīyo
- (1. 19,) dvij-eça-mauliḥ Çiva-vad=vā(ba)bhūva || Tasyā<sup>8</sup>=bhūd=  
anujo Mahendra-mahimā kandaḥ pratāpa-çriyām=ekah  
sāhasa-sārathir=guṇa-na(ma)yaḥ
- (1. 20,) ṣṛi-ÇŪRAPĀLO nṛpaḥ[1\*]yaḥ svacha(ccha)nda-nisargga-  
vibhrama-bharā[n\*]vibhbra(bibbhra)t sarvv-āyudha<sup>9</sup>  
prāgalbhyena manaḥsu vismaya-bhayaṁ sadyas=tatāna  
dviśām || E-
- (1. 21,) tasyā=pi sahodaro narapatiḥ=ddivya-prajā-nirvha(rbbha)ra-  
kṣobh-āhūta-vidhūta-vāsava-dhṛtiḥ ṣṛi-RĀMAPĀLO s bha-  
vat | çāsaty=eva
- (1. 22,) ciraṁ jaganti janake yaḥ çaiçave visphurat-tejobhiḥ para-  
cakra-cetasi camat-kāraṁ cakāra sthiraṁ || Tasmād<sup>10</sup>=  
ajāyata niḥ-ā-
- (1. 23,) yata-vā(bā)hu-vīrya-nispī(ṣpi)ta-pivara-virodhi-yaçāḥ-  
payodhiḥ | medasvi-kirttir=amar-endra-vadhū-kapola-  
karppūra-pattra-makarī sa KU-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Mālinī.

<sup>2</sup> The akṣara *da* has been added later; it looks rather like the *avagraha* sign.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Çikharinī. Read *Ttajan doṣāsaṅgam* with the Amgachi plate.

<sup>4</sup> Read *guṇ-āgrāmyaḥ*; the Amgachi plate here reads *hata-dhvāntaḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Çārdūlavikṛḍita.

<sup>6</sup> Read *caturō = dhikaṁ ca Haritaḥ* with the Amgachi plate.

<sup>7</sup> Metre Upajāti,

<sup>8</sup> Metre Çārdūlavikṛḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>9</sup> Read *sa-sarvv-āyudhān*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

- (1. 24,) MĀRAPĀLAḤ || Pratta(tya)rtthi <sup>1</sup>-pramadā-kadamva(mba)-ka-çirah-sindūra-lopa-krama-kriḍā-pāṭala-pāṇir=eṣa suṣ-  
uve GopĀLAM=ū(u)rvvi-bhujam |
- (1. 25,) dhātrī-pālana-jṣmbhamāṇa-mahimā karpūra-pām̐ç-ūtakarair=  
devaḥ kirttim=a-yonija[m\*]vitanute yaḥ çaiçave kriḍi-  
tam || Tad <sup>2</sup>=anu MADANA-
- (1. 26,) DEVĪ-nandanaç=candra-gauraiç=carita-bhuvana-garvbha-  
(rbbha)ḥ prām̐gubhiḥ kirtti-pūraiḥ | kṣitim=avarama-  
tātas=tasya sapt-āvdhi (bdhi)-dāmnim=abhṛta MADANAPĀ-
- (1. 27,) LO Rāmapāl-ātmajanmā | (||) Sa khalu Bhāgīrathi-patha-  
pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nauvāṭaka-sampādita-setu-  
va(ba)ndha-nihita-çaila-
- (1. 28,) çikhar[i\*]ṇi-vibhramān=niratiçaya-ghanāghana-kari-ghaṭā-  
çyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakṣmi-samāravdha(bdha)-santata-  
jalada-samaya-sandehā-
- (1. 29,) d=udi(di)ciu-āneka-narapati-prābhṛtikṛt-āprameya-haya-  
vāhini-khara-khur-otkhāta-dhūli-dhūsa(sa)rita-dig-anta-  
rālāt parameçvara-sevā-
- (1. 30,) samāgat-āçeṣa-Jamvu(mbu)dvīpa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pāda-  
bhara-namad-avaneḥ çṛi-RĀMĀVATĪ-nagara-parisara-sa-  
māvāsita-çṛimaj-jaya-skandhāvā-
- (1. 31,) rāt | Parama-saugato Mahārājādhirājah<sup>3</sup> çṛi-RĀMAPĀLADEVA-  
pād-ānudhyātaḥ Parameçvaraḥ Paramabhātṭārako Mahā-  
rājādhirā-
- (1. 32,) jaḥ çṛiman-MADANAPĀLADEVĀḤ kuçali || çṛi-PAUNPRA-  
VARDHANA-bhuktau KoṭīVARṢA-viṣaye HALĀVARTTA-  
maṇḍale [Kāṣṭhāgiri-saṁvimçatyāvādhikopetasa-  
(1. 33,) kaivadārvvacattaraṭṭake]<sup>4</sup> tṛ[m\*]çatikāyāni bhūmau sa-  
mupāgat-āçeṣa-rāja-puruṣān rāja-rājā(ja)nyaka-rāja-  
putra-rājāmatya-mahāsāndhivi-
- (1. 34,) grahika-mahākṣapaṭalika-mahāsāmanta-mahāsepā(vā)pati-  
mahāpratihāra-dauhsādhāsādhānika-mahākumārāmātya-  
rājasthāni-
- (1. 35,) yoparika-cauroddharanika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsi(çi)ka-çauni-  
ka-kṣetrapa-prāntapāla-kotṭapāla-angarakṣa-tad-āyukta-  
viniyuktaka-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Çārdulavikriḍita.<sup>2</sup> Metre Mālīnī.<sup>3</sup> Read Mahārājādhirāja-çṛi-Rāmapāladeva.<sup>4</sup> The reading of this passage remains very doubtful.

## Reverse :

- (1. 36,) hasty-asv(çv)-oṣṭra-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛtaka-kiçora-vaḍavā-go-mahiṣ-āj-āvik-ādhyakṣa-dūta-preṣaṇika-gamāgamika-ati(bhi)tvaramāṇa-vi-
- (1. 37,) śayapati-grāmapati-tarika-çaulkika-gaulmika-Gauḍa-Māla-va-Coḍa-Khasa-Hūṇa-kulika-Karṇṇāṭa-Lāṭa-cāṭa-bhaṭa-sevak-ādi-
- (1. 38,) n anyāṃc=c=ākirttitān rāja-pād-opajivina[ḥ\*]prativāsino vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ottarān mahattam-ottama-kuṭumvim(mbi)-purogama-caṇḍāla-paryantān ya-
- (1. 39,) thārha[m\*] mānayati vo(bo)dhayati samādisa(ça)ti ca viditam=astu bhavatām || yath=opari-likṣi(khi)to=yam grāmaḥ || sva-simā-tṛṇa-pluti-gocara-paryantaḥ ||
- (1. 40,) sa-talaḥ s-oddeçaḥ s-āmra-madhūkaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-gartt-oça(ça)raḥ sa-jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ sa-dara-çāpasāraḥ<sup>1</sup> sa-canroddharanikaḥ parihṛta-sarvva-
- (1. 41,) pīḍaḥ a-cāṭa-bhaṭṭa(ṭa)-prāveçaḥ a-kiñcita-paragrāhyaḥ<sup>2</sup> [samasta\*]-bhāga-bhoga-hirany-ādi-pratyāya-sametaḥ ratna-traya-rāja-sambhoga-varjjitaḥ
- (1. 42,) bhūmi-cchidra-nyāyena ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ mātāpitror=ātmanaç=ca puṇya-yaço-bhivṛddhaye [Kautsa]-sagotrāya Çāṇḍi-
- (1. 43,) ly-Āçi(si)ta-Devala-pravarāya paṇḍita-çri-Bhūṣaṇa-savara-(bra)hmacāriṇe Sāmaved-āntarggata-Kautthuma-çākh-ādhyāyine Campāhittiyāya
- (1. 44,) CAMPĀHITĪ-vāstavyāya VATSAÇVĀ(SVĀ)MI-prapautrāya PRAJĀ-PATIÇVĀ(SVĀ)MI-pautrāya ÇAUNAKAÇVĀ(SVĀ)MI-putrāya paṇḍita-bhaṭṭaputra-çri-VATEÇVARAÇVĀ(SVĀ)-
- (1. 45,) MIÇARMAṆE Paṭṭamahādevi-çri-CITRAMATIKAYĀ Vedavyāsa-prokta-prapāṭhita-Mahābhārata-samutsarjita-dakṣiṇā-tvena Bhagava-
- (1. 46,) ntaṁ Buddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiçya çāsani-kṛtya pradatto smābhiḥ | ato bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ev-ānumantavyaṁ bhāvibhir=api pa(bhū)mipati-
- (1. 47,) bhir=bhūmer=ddāna-phala-gauravāt apaharaṇe mahānara-ka<sup>3</sup>-pāta-bhayāc=ca dānam=idam=anumody-ānumodya pālaniyam prativāsi-
- (1. 48,) bhiç=ca kṣetra-karair=ājñā-çravaṇa-vidheyi-bhūyaḥ(ya)yathā-kālaṁ samucita-bhāga-bhoga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-opanayaḥ kārya iti ||

<sup>1</sup> Read sa-daç-āparāḍhaḥ. <sup>2</sup> Read a-kiñcit-pragrāhyaḥ. <sup>3</sup> Read mahānaraka-

- (1. 49,) Samvat 8 candra-gatyā caitrakarmma-dīne 15 [1\*] Bhavanti  
c=ātra dharmm-ānusa(ṣa)msinaḥ ṣṭokāḥ || Va(Ba)-  
hubhir<sup>1</sup>=vvasudhā dattā rājabhīḥ
- (1. 50,) Sagar-ādibhīḥ [1\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya  
tadā phalaḥ || Bhūmīm yaḥ pratigrhṇāti yaḥ=ca bhūmīm  
prayacchati | ubhau tau puṇya-
- (1. 51,) karmṇāṇau niyataḥ svargga-gāminau || Gām=ekām  
svaṛṇṇam=ekaṇ=ca | bhūmer=apy=araddham=angulaḥ [1\*]  
haraḥ narakam<sup>2</sup>=āyāti | yāvad=āhūti(ta)-
- (1. 52,) saṃplavaḥ || Śaṣṭīm(ṣṭīm) varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargge tiṣṭhāti  
bhūmidāḥ [1\*] ākṣeptā c=ānumantā ca tāny=eva narake  
vaset || Sva-dattāḥ pa-
- (1. 53,) ra-dattā vām(dattāḥ vā) yo hareta vasundharām[1\*] sa  
viṣṭhāyāḥ kṛmir=bhūtvā pitṛbhīḥ saha pacyate ||  
Āsphotayanti pitaro valgayanti pitāma-
- (1. 54,) hāḥ | bhūmido smada(t)-kule jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhavisya-  
(ṣya)ti || Sarvān<sup>3</sup>=etān bhāvinaḥ pāṛthivendrān bhūyo  
bhūya[1\*] prārthayaty=e-
- (1. 55,) sa(ṣa) Rāmaḥ [1\*] sāmānyo=yam dharmma-setur=narāṇām  
kāle kāle pālaniyaḥ krameṇa || Iti<sup>4</sup> kamala-dal-āmvyu-  
(mbu)-vindu-lolām Āriyam=a-
- (1. 56,) nucintya manusya(ṣya)-jīvitam ca[1\*] sakalam=idam=  
udāhṛtaḥ=ca vu(bu)ddhyā na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayo  
vilopyāḥ || Kṛtaḥ<sup>5</sup> sakala-
- (1. 57,) nītiṇō dhairya-sthairya-mahodadhiḥ[1\*] Sādhivigrahikaḥ  
ṣṛīmān BHĪMADEVO s tra dūtakaḥ || Rājye Madanapālasya  
aṣṭame
- (1. 58,) parivaccha(tsa)re | tāmrapaṭṭam=imaḥ ṣilpi TATHĀGATASARO s  
khanat ||

<sup>1</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh ; and of the next five verses.

<sup>2</sup> Read *haraḥ* = *narakam*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Čālinī.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Puṣpitaḡrā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh ; and of the next verse.

*On the identification of Kusinara, Vaisali and other places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.—By W. HOEY, ESQ., LITT.D., I.C.S.*

*(With an edition of a new copper-plate Inscription of Jayādityadeva II.—By DR. T. BLOCH.)*

[Read, May 1899.]

The hitherto accepted identification of some places noticed by Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang must be subjected to a very careful re-examination because the discovery of the Lumbini Garden has shown that Kapilavastu lies in a direction quite different from that indicated by General Cunningham and his assistants of the Archaeological Department, and I think it is incumbent on any one who has doubts and can propose points for discussion which may assist in determining the geographical position of ancient places of interest, to lay his views before this Society. It is purely because I am anxious to reach the truth that I venture upon this communication. My main object at present is to show that Cherand and not Besarh is Vaisali and that Kusinara is Sewan itself or near it, but it is as well to use this opportunity to furnish notes regarding other places.

There is no doubt that the city referred to by Fa Hian as Ki-jou-i and by Hwen Thsang as Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo is Kanauj,<sup>1</sup> and I shall take this as my starting point. Proceeding from this the later pilgrim visited, or seems to have visited, Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo, which has been correctly identified with Newal, an ancient site a little north of Bangarmau in the Unao District. I visited this place in 1876-77 and obtained Kuṣāṇa coins and independently arrived at this identification. Fa Hian on leaving Kanauj went in the same direction which Hwen Thsang subsequently took and he reached a forest which he called

<sup>1</sup> In view of the frequent appearance of the name 'Lorik' in connection with Buddhist places and the possible connection of a part of that hero's legendary history with Buddha, I here note that it is remarkable to find his father's name given as Buphkubbha, 'the old hunchback.' Has this any connection with 'Kanyākubja'? The Ahirs who sing of Lorik are—Kananjā Gwālās. Lorik is clearly the younger (lahura) brother of Sauru, 'the dark one' (Sānyala).



A-li (*var.* Ho-lo, A-lo) and here he found traces of Buddha in the usual form of memorial buildings. He and Hwen Thsang probably visited the same place. Anyhow I have no doubt that Asi-vana is the forest of A-li, and the present pargana of Asiwan probably represents approximately the area of the forest of Fa Hian's time. The people have a local tradition that the town of Asiwan was founded by one Asan, a name which will be seen to be of importance when I recur later on to the route subsequently taken by Hwen Thsang.

On leaving the A-li Forest Fa Hian proceeded to the country of the Sha-chi. He travelled direct, but Hwen Thsang on leaving Newal went to other places before he reached Pi-so-kia, which is, I think, plainly the capital of the Sha-chi. One is tempted to say that the Sha-chi must be the Sāketa (Sansk.), the inhabitants of Sāketa or Ayodhyā, and to restore Pi-so-kia as Vi-sāka (not Viçākha) so as to introduce a common root to connect Sa-chi and Pi-so-kia as Chinese renderings of Sanscrit names. The temptation is all the stronger because at the S.E. of Ramkot, the ancient citadel of Ayodhyā, we have the mani parbat<sup>1</sup> (Orajhār), which might be thought to be a stūpa, and beside it there are numerous 'chilbil' (Sansk. *civillika*) trees. The twigs of the chilbil are largely used to serve the purpose of tooth brushes. All this bears a plausible resemblance to what both pilgrims record as to the place which they visited but doubt still remains. I have been unable to find any trace of Deva-çarman at Ayodhyā, but I do find that the hermitage of this sage is still pointed out near the Varaha sangam, the junction of the Sarju and Gogra rivers near Pasha, in the Gonda District, where there is still a shrine to which Hindu pilgrims resort. They attach sanctity to this locality because of the image of the Boar here placed which is said to mark the scene of the Varāha Avatāra. I believe that Pasha will be found to be Pi-so-kia, the capital of the kingdom or country of the Sha-chi.

Proceeding from this both pilgrims went on to Çrāvastī, which may be held to be Set-mahet until something tangible be shown to upset the identification. It is true that Kapilavastu is said to have lain S.E. from Çrāvastī or rather the pilgrims went S.E. from that city to visit places on their way to Kapilavastu, whereas the direction of the *supposed* site of Kaṇakamuni's stupa is slightly N. of E. from Set-mahet, but we find so many instances in which directions given by the pilgrims do not tally with directions shown on modern maps, prepared on the basis of careful surveys with modern instruments that we must not argue too strenuously on the directions loosely recorded and often

<sup>1</sup> This spot, however, may really preserve the name of Maṇi-cūḍa, one of the prehistoric kings of Ayodhyā.



palpably misstated by the Chinese pilgrims, who travelled over a country where impenetrable forest and dense jungle rendered an accurate estimate of direction impossible, and where even the distances stated cannot accurately correspond to those taken out by straight lines run across the maps of to-day. Routes were devious 1,250 years ago. A Chinese pilgrim may have left a city A by the S.E. gate and travelled for a time S.E. and then have turned in the tortuous mazes of a jungle northward and traversed what he called 12 *yojanas* before reaching another city B. He would have recorded: 'Proceeding from this place A to the S.E., after travelling 12 *yojanas*, we reach B.' To-day it may be that there is a direct road and we should say, 'Leaving A and going E. along a metalled road for 60 miles we reach B.' I note this here simply to show that we have need to be very cautious in treating the directions and distances stated by the Chinese pilgrims as fixed data in themselves sufficient to enable us to determine locations. The descriptions of places and the names and objects which are said to have existed in their days are much safer data for identification.

From *Crāvastī* the pilgrims proceeded to *Kapilavastu*. Of this centre of intense interest I need now say nothing. Government has undertaken inquiries and I trust that the present examination of sites north of *Bastī* will lead to satisfactory identifications. Meanwhile I have only to say that I recently obtained a copper-plate inscription which will enable the Society to test the accuracy or probable correctness of the results reported. An edition of this plate will be found in an Appendix to this paper. It will suffice here to note the recorded facts. The document is a deed of gift by King *Jayāditya* of certain land to a *Kāyastha* named *Keçava*. The area of the grant seems to have been considerable. It consisted of the town land *Kumāraṣaṇḍikā* including the hamlets of *Paṭraṣaṇḍā*, *Çaṅkuṣaṇḍā*, *Gāddhī*, and *Deulī*, situated in the *Leḍḍikā* subdivision of the *Daddaraṇḍikā* district. The boundaries are given: on the east the *Rohiṇinadi*; on the south the *tilaka tree* (? forest); on the north the *kumbhī tree* (? forest) and on the west the *Hastilaṇḍākhyā khāta* i.e., the Ditch or moat known as that where the elephant was thrown. The date of this inscription is *Samvat 921*, or 864-5 A.D. Thus we have the name of the moat where Buddha cast away the elephant still preserved about two centuries and a quarter after *Hwen Thsang's* visit. The great captain, as he is described in the text, who brought the orders for the gift was *Grahakuṇḍa*, a name perhaps of importance with reference to the *Grah Kuṇḍ* near *Tirbeni*. There is no other proper name which at present strikes me as relevant.

We do not hear of a ditch where an elephant was thrown anywhere save in connection with *Kapilavastu*, but unfortunately I cannot yet

trace the villages or territorial divisions named in the plate, but inasmuch as they contained mines of salt and iron the tract referred to must be near the hills. Is it not possible that Saina Maina (Çāyana Māyana : the dream couch), 5 miles S.W. of Butwal may be Kapilāvastu? I think it may be near it at any rate, unless there were more than one sculptured or painted representations of the dream of Māyā which gave to places their names.

I omit for the present the places between the Lumbini Garden and Vaisali but shall return again to discuss them also.

I have long entertained grave doubts as to the identity of Besarh and Vaisali. When Buddha left his home he visited Vaisali and he also consulted the teachers mentioned as Arāḍa Kalāma and Uruvilva Kāçyapa before he reached Gaya. The Kāçyapa here alluded to seems to have resided at the place known as Urwal on the East bank of the Son river, and as Uruvilva Kāçyapa is Kāçyapa of Uruvilva we may conceive Arāḍa Kalāma to be Kalāma of Arāḍa and Arāḍa to be the modern Arrah. In that case, any one will see that Buddha would have been guilty of making a foolish out-of-the-way detour if he went across the Great Gandak to Besarh before going to Arrah, Urwal and Gaya. If, when he fled from his home, he went down country *viâ* Kasia and the Saran district, crossed the Ganges and proceeded to Arrah, then crossed the Son and took Urwal on his way to Gaya, we have a probable route and there is no ground for supposing that he did not take as direct a course as reasonable. These considerations led me to believe that Vaisali must be found in the Saran district, west of the Great Gandak and north of the Ganges.

When Rāma was proceeding from Ayodhyā to Mithilā with Viçvāmitra, he passed through certain places until they reached the banks of the Son, but this river they did not cross. They crossed the Ganges and when they had landed on the other side they beheld the city named Viçālā, where they were entertained by the king Sumati. Viçvāmitra narrated the legendary history of the kingdom over which this king reigned. I need not quote it here, but I refer the curious to the XLV and following sections of the Bālakāṇḍa of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. There is much that is suggestive in connection with the stories told by Hwen Thsang and I think that the reference by Vālmiki to Çakra justifies the suggestion that Saran may possibly be Çakra + aranya the forest of Çakra or Indra.

We know that when Buddha left Magadha for the last time he went towards Vaisali. The gate by which he left Pataliputra was afterwards called the Gotama gate and the place where he crossed the Ganges was called thereafter the Gotama Ferry. The Gotama Ghat is

still known east of Revilganj. We also have the story of Ānanda's leaving Pataliputra for Vaisali and we read that when he reached the Ganges he discovered that the people of Vaisali had come out to meet him in the hope of obtaining his body as they knew he was about to die and they wished to do it honour: but he was pursued by Ajātaśatru's army which had been sent with the same object. He therefore surrendered himself to death (entered samādhi) on an island in the river and his body parted in two so that the rival claimants obtained equal parts. This story is preserved for us in the name Cherand, which is simply Chidra + ānga: the divided body.

It is very remarkable that there is a local tradition at Cherand based on this story. It is this. There was a king at Cherand named Moraddhuj (Mayūradhvaja) in the Dwāpara Yuga who professed great devotion to the gods. Krishna determined to put the king's faith to a test and came one day to his palace disguised as a mendicant and asked for the right half of the king's body for some sacrificial purpose. He explained to the king that his wife and son must each hold one end of a saw (ārā) and saw him in two, but if he shed tears the gift would not be acceptable. The king agreed and the operation commenced but presently he began to shed tears from his left eye. The mendicant reminded the king that the professed gift was liable to rejection but the latter explained that the left eye wept because the right half of the body was alone being taken and the other left. Krishna was so pleased with this devotion that he exercised his divine power, stopped the operation, restored the body to its former state and flung the saw away. It fell at Arrah in the Shahabad district, giving its name to that place. This story is certainly the same in origin as that told of Ānanda. It is a Hindu version of facts underlying the Buddhist story.

The conclusion to which I come is that Vaisali did not lie on the east but on the west of the present Great Gandak. I shall presently fix it beyond doubt east of Chupra probably at Cherand itself. The whole of the northern bank of the Ganges from Hajipur right up to Manjhi (Mangchi in the Āin-i-Akbārī) would repay careful and minute examination.

I may here digress for a moment to make some notes as to Saran Khass which I at first erroneously surmised to be Vaisali and visited for that reason. Saran Khass lies about 16 miles due north of Manjhi, and contains extensive ancient remains covered for the most part by cultivated fields. There is an abrupt rise at Makhdum Shah's Dargah, a little south of Harpur, which continues for a couple of miles south until it terminates somewhat more abruptly beyond Khwajah Pir's

Mazar. On the east of this elevated site runs a stream known locally by two names, Gandaki and Sarayu. This is well defined and may have been a channel made in ancient days for water supply. West of this and parallel to it the high ground extends for an average width of not less than half a mile. As I passed from the northern end I observed undulations with occasional very prominent heights and noticed that cultivators have taken out numerous bricks while ploughing. On approaching the southern end I observed a pile near a mound on which are the remains of a brick building. I learned that this pile is the Ganj-i-Shahidān or Martyr's Heap near the traditional Raja's kot. This indicates a desperate assault at some time on a Hindu stronghold. Further on I came to Khwajah Pir's Mazar and found two tombs in an open enclosure. In one corner there was a large black stone about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. long on which I observed Hindu sculptures of the *Navagraha* or nine planets. On the back of the slab there was a long inscription in Tughra character of which I had not then the means of taking a rubbing. It is much worn and could not be read at sight. It is probably historically important.

A few miles west by north of Saran khass is a village called Bhikaband on the map. I visited this spot also and find that there is here a large banian tree which is said to cover about ten acres. In the ground near there are brick remains and an old well lately reopened. Somewhat S. E. of this is an old temple and the attendant Brahmans wrote the name for me: *Bhikaban*, which is clearly the 'Bhikshu's Grove.' About a mile west of this are two villages bearing the name Kapiā, which suggests the story of the service rendered to Buddha by the monkey (*kapi*) as mentioned by the later Chinese traveller.

I shall now proceed to resume my discussion as regards Vaisali itself. There are some suggestions based on a study of the *Mahā-parinibbāṇa Sutta* which I must note. When Buddha had crossed the Ganges for the last time on his way to Vaisali he first visited Koṭigāma and then Nāḍika, after which he arrived at the great city. There he was entertained by the courtesan, Ambapali, at her mango grove outside the city. From Vaisali Buddha went on to Veluva where he was seized with the illness which eventually terminated his life. This is probably the modern Belwa, N.E. of Cherand. Near it we meet with such remarkable names as Sārnāth Chak and Dharma Chak. Buddha then seems to have turned again towards Vaisali for he went to the Cāpāla Caitya, which the text would lead us to believe to have been near the city, if not in it. This name is probably either from *Capalā* or *cāpalā* (Sansc.), a loose woman, and thus alludes to the concubine



spoken of by the pilgrims; or from *cāpa + ālaya* (Sansk.), the 'bow-place,' where the bow was deposited. Anyhow there can be no mistake as to the mound lying to the east of the town of Chupra, called Telpa. This is undoubtedly the Sanskrit *talpa* 'a tower,' and is that built for the mother of the thousand sons and the site of Vaisali is therefore fixed. It is the modern Cherand and was spread along the bank of the Ganges east and west of the present town.

The five rivers to the junction of which the Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hian proceeded was the mouth of the Son. The five rivers are the Jumna, Ganges, Rapti, Sarayu or Gogra, and the Son. Fa Hian crossed at Paleza-Digha Ghat, and had only to go one *yojana* to reach Pataliputra (Patna). The distance from Cherand to Paleza Ghat is  $18\frac{1}{2}$  miles. This was four *yojanas* and gives a trifle over  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the *yojana*. According to Hwen Thsang the *yojana* consisted of 4000 bow lengths, each 6 cubits, This means 8000 yards which give us 4·54 miles to the *yojana*.

We learn from Rockhill's Life of the Buddha based on Tibetan authorities that Buddha on finally leaving Vaisali visited a place called Amra, which may be Amnaur (Amranagara), Jambugāma, Bhaṇḍagāma, Hastigāma, which may be the present Hathwa, and Bhoganagara. After this he reached Pāva.

I now come to speak of a place of which I have some personal knowledge. There is a village known as Papaur or Pappaur (Pāva + pura or Pāpa + pura) about three miles east of Sewan. I visited it some years ago. Near the present homestead there are the remains of a more ancient habitation from which I obtained some copper Indo-Bactrian coins. It represents a place of great antiquity and must be the Pāva where the goldsmith Cunda lived. When Buddha came thus far he went with his followers to the goldsmith's grove and while there he accepted an invitation to dine with the goldsmith to whose house he went. There he was served with the *sūkara*<sup>1</sup> which aggravated the symptoms developed at Veluva and gave his illness a fatal turn. This led him to resolve to push on to Kusinara and he set out with Ānanda in that direction. He was then at least 80 years old and suffering from dysentery. He could not have travelled far and we observe that the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta represents him as halting under a tree at least once and reaching a river with difficulty. The salient points in connection with his last brief journey are that he left Pāva, halted under a tree, moved on again to a stream called Kakuttha and having crossed

<sup>1</sup> This is not boar's flesh, but *Sūkara-kanda* 'hog's root,' a bulbous root found chiefly in mounds and jungles, which I have seen Hindus eat with avidity. It is a *phalahar*, permissible to eat on fast days.

a river bearing a name suggestive of gold, he reached the people's park near Kusinara and lay down under some sal trees. Possibly he had not come to Kusinara because he sent Ananda to bring the Mallas to him. After his death there was an imposing ceremony to do honour to his remains. He was laid out on a golden bier and is said to have been kept for seven days: and it is said that he showed his feet from out his winding sheet and he even raised himself and spoke. There was difficulty in moving his remains until Kāçyapa came. Thus the spot where his bier rested was one that must have borne a name associated with it. That name is Sewan, the Sanscrit *çavyāna*: a litter or bier. There is something in names. It is remarkable that we have a particular tree of great age at a mound near Sewan Railway Station. This is known as Jagattrā, the Protector or Deliverer of the world. One would expect Hindus to venerate this spot but they do not. They consider it ill-omened. The late Raja of Hathwa desired to enclose all this spot, but the Pandits told him that the act would bring him bad luck. He enclosed a large patch but left the tree outside the walls. He died soon after. This Jagattrā is looked upon as the oldest place about Sewan, and its name and associations are significant. There is also a very high mound not far off which has not been explored. I can have no doubt that Kusinara lies somewhere close to Sewan if it be not Sewan itself.

The indefatigable Major Waddell has in the third number of the Journal of this Society for 1896, published an abstract of a Tibetan Guide Book to Buddhist sites in India. It is unfortunately a brief and vague *vade mecum* for the traveller and is absolutely unreliable in some of the directions which it gives, but it tells us that the Bāla grove where Buddha died is in the N.W. of the Kamalla or Bāliya des, 'the powerful country.' I find that the tract of country eastward from the Dāha river near Sewan and stretching north of the Manjhi and Cherand tappas or parganas is called Ball. Sewan is in the N.W. of the Ball country. This is probably the country of the 'powerful' people (*bala*) and is possibly the same as *malla* (powerful, athletic). When Buddha left Vaisali and visited various places before reaching Pāva the places are said to have been villages of the Licchavis and the Mallas.

Hwen Thsang tells us two Jātaka stories in connection with the country of Kusinara. The one is that of the pheasant which tried to extinguish a forest fire by dipping in water, flying aloft, and shaking its wings that the water might fall on the fire: but the bird's efforts were unavailing and at last Çakra (Indra) put out the fire. This is not a misplaced story in Sewan, the Çakra-aranya. The second story is that of the deer which, when the forest was burning, helped animals across the river and last of all saved a helpless hare, and itself perished. Now,



both stories mention a conflagration and a river. There is one word in Sanscrit which expresses both conflagration and cremation. It is '*daha*.' The river so named is the river of 'conflagration' and also the Çava-daha, the cremation river of the Malla or Balla people.

The Dahi takes its rise N.E. of Gopalganj and in its course forms the sheet of water known as Sasa Mansa (*Çaṣa-mokṣita* 'the rescued hare') and then flows southward to Andur. Near this (at Faridpur) it is joined by the Sondi River and thence its course is S.E. until it falls into the Gogra east of Manjhi. The Sondi is said to be an offshoot of another stream called Narayani but I cannot find this on the maps. It comes down past Manjha Mutkar and Manjha Mallaon. I have said that we must find the word for gold entering into the composition of a river near Kusinara. It is given in the Chinese as Hi-lian and Shi-lai-na-fa-ti. The latter is obviously Suvarṇavati, which, anyone accustomed to note mutations from Sanscrit to Hindi will see, becomes Soṇa-vati, or Soṇa-nadī, or Sondi or Sundi.

I have not been able to visit any places near Sewan except Pappaur, but a gentleman who has taken considerable trouble to help me in my researches tells me that there is a very extensive ancient mound covered with trees, locally called a fort of the Cheroos, between Luhsi and Kulinjura about 3 miles N. W. of Sewan. There are also remains of great age on the west bank of the Dahi in Gosopali opposite Salannapur. This name suggests *Sāla-vana-pura*, the city of the Sāla forest. The mention of the Sāla here in any form is interesting. These places should be examined.

There are also considerable remains and a large basalt image further down the Dahi at Hasanpur which should be looked to. From this place I received an inscription on a brass plate not yet deciphered.

South-east of Kusinara and west of Vaisali lay the place where Buddha parted from the Licchavis. This is probably Manjhi, the Māngchi of the Āin-i-Akbarī. It is the 'Māng' or 'Mānjha', the middle line, the parting, and lies on the west of the Dahi or Sundi where it joins the Ganges. The Sundi or Dahi river was probably the western boundary of the Vaisali kingdom, a narrow tract lying along the bank of the Ganges.

I now return to the Lumbini Garden and ask what were the points visited by the Chinese pilgrims between that place and Kusinara. It is not yet settled what the Rāmagāma Kingdom was or where the town called after Rāma lay. I may mention that the very old town of Kanapar near Dham is also called Ramnagar, but that is not necessarily significant. I can, however, with knowledge point to a very ancient mound called Ghagharra between Pipraich and Captainganj, which

should be examined as a possible Stūpa *cum* Vihāra site. After the Rāmagāma stūpa, the pilgrims visited the place where Buddha performed the three great acts of renunciation, where (1) he sent back his horse, (2) he took off his crest-jewel and cut his hair, and (3) he put on the *kaṣāya* robe of the ascetic. We know from the Lalita Vistara and the Romantic Legend that the memorial stūpas erected to mark the place where these three acts were performed were close together. We also know that on his flight from home the Prince came to the country of the Mainas. Kasia lies on the Mainpur tappa, and I believe that the Prince crossed the Chota Gandak in the morning after he left home, and that a black stone image still lying under a tree opposite Hetimpur is a remnant of some memorial there placed to mark the spot where he crossed. The Prince then entered the country of the Mainas, as I have shown above, and the remains at Māta Kunwar, at Ramabhar, and inside the cane-brake in Kasia town, are what we have left of the memorial buildings placed to commemorate the Great Renunciation. Kasia is the place where the Prince received the *kaṣāya* garment or robe of the mendicant.

The Charcoal stūpa has yet to be found but I am in hopes that it will be identifiable in the mound of Agarwā, N. E. of Taria Sujan which I have not yet seen. The name itself being obviously derivable from *angārīka*, charcoal or embers, is promising.

Having located Vaisali at Cherand, I may ask: 'What then is Besarh?' Fortunately that is easily explained. When Hwen Thsang speaks of the country Fo-li-shi, north east of Vaisali, he means Pa-lā-sa or Parāsa,<sup>1</sup> the country of the dāk tree, a name which was given to at least the trans-Ganges part of Magadha. He tells us an exaggerated story about a monster fish in this country and a stūpa commemorating the conversion of 500 fishermen by Buddha. Besarh is the Sanskrit word *vasāḍhya*, the Gangetic porpoise, and the remains at Besarh are those of the town or city of the Monster Fish.

The mere fact that an Asoka pillar may be found somewhere near Besarh does not make it Vaisali: nor are we entitled to say that Cherand is not Vaisali, because an Asoka pillar has not yet come to sight there. It would be interesting to know why Asoka placed his pillars in many places which he selected. I would suggest that he selected Kesaria and Araraj as pillar sites because they probably represent the places where Buddha was believed to have been in former lives respectively a *Kesarī* or lion and the *Arindama Rājā*.

Let me now return to Kanauj and take up Hwen Thsang's route. I assume that he visited Newal and we have to look for 'O-yu-t'o and

<sup>1</sup> The country of the *πασιον* mentioned by Megasthenes.

'O-ye-mu-khi. The first thing to observe is that the Life of Hwen Thsang shows that he travelled by boat on the Ganges. He must have used a boat to cross from Kanauj on his way to Newal. He was certainly on a boat when attacked by the river-dacoits while on his way from 'O-yu-t'o to 'O-ye-mu-khi. No place that he mentions between Newal and Prayāga can have been very far from the Ganges. The Life differs from the Travels in important details. If we read the latter alone it would seem that Hwen Thsang speaks as if he was reckoning from Newal to 'O-yu-t'o, while the Life represents as a starting point the Bhadra Vihāra where the pilgrims had stayed for three months at Kanauj. These apparently trivial variations are important, because they affect the position of 'O-yu-t'o with reference to the Ganges. Anyhow the distances are 600 li to 'O-yu-t'o, 300 li to 'O-ye-mu-khi and thence 700 to Allahabad. The direction of the intermediate length is described as East. The general direction of the Ganges between Kanauj and Allahabad is S. E. There is a stretch of the river roughly W. to E. between Baksar Ghat and Dalman. The last named place is the spot where Dālabhya Ṛṣi spent his life and west of it a few miles is Chilanla, a name which recalls the Shi-lo-ta-lo of the pilgrim. This is the traditional abode of the Ṛṣi Cyavana, restored to youth by the Aṇvins. A little farther west is Gagason, venerated by Hindus as the āṣrama of Garga, a muni who left a host of descendants; and close to this again is Sinhaur, another place of great antiquity. Taking the Singhar Tāra crossing near Sinhaur crossing and crossing south of the river we reach Tāra Bhitaura or Bhati-ura, supposed to be a dwelling place of descendants of Bhrgu, and proceeding a few miles east we reach Asni, opposite Gagason. At Asni is the shrine<sup>1</sup> of the Aṇvins, the twin sons of Sūrya (the sun) who are represented by two brass images with their hair coiled over their heads. The myth runs that these deities were born from the nostrils of a mare. May not 'O-ye-mu-khi be *Aṇvā-mukha*, 'the mare's Head,' and this cluster of sacred places be the kingdom referred to by the pilgrim. The story of the Rishi at Chilanla restored to youth by the Aṇvins may be another form of the narrative of the conversion of Buddha Simha and of the three pious Buddhists who made the bargain about reappearing after death. Anyhow these places are connected and mark what may have been regarded by Hwen Thsang as a kingdom with its capital on the northern bank of the Ganges, that on which the majority of the shrines lies.

<sup>1</sup> A modern shrine built by the late Maharajah of Benares, but the place was known as Asni long before. It may be that Āsanga and his brother were remembered here as "The pair of brothers."

I have when writing about Asiwan referred to the significance of the name Asan as the founder of that place. Might not this name be the Āsanga of the Chinese Traveller? We meet with a similar eponym in connection with Asoha, the chief town of Asoha pargana in Unao district, where the people call the founder Asa Rikh. There are some remains at this place where Bactrian Coins have been found: and these remains may be Buddhist, but it would be rash to say as yet that Asoha is 'O-yu-t'o.

I need not say anything as regards Prayāga which can be no other spot than Allahabad. From this undoubtedly fixed point Hwen Thsang went to Kosambi which has been identified with Kosam *cum* Pabhosa on the northern bank of the Jumna. My learned friend Mr. Vincent Smith, has lately written disputing the correctness of this identification and I must admit that my faith was at first shaken by his arguments. I have a great respect for his acumen but I venture to say that, after considering all that he has written, I cannot but hold to the original identification. Mr. Smith has not himself visited Kosam.

As Hwen Thsang travelled by boat on the Ganges it is highly probable he moved by boat along the Jumna. In that case his first direction would have been S.W. and on his left at any rate we would have had forest as one can see who has traversed the Barah Tahsil of Allahabad District and the adjoining parts of Bandah District. The journey by river would be long and tedious enough to account for the great distance recorded, 500 li. When the traveller left Kōsambī and went north he passed through a dense forest. This may possibly be the present Atharban pargana. As we have the Antar-ved for the Ganges-Jumna Doab, the name may really be correctly *Antar-vana*. This point is worth examination. At any rate *vana* (forest) is beyond doubt.

In Rockhill's "Life of the Buddha" (page 74), where the account of the conversion of the king of Kosambi<sup>1</sup> is given, we are told that at that time the king of Vatsala had assembled his army with the intention of conquering the city of Kanakavati. West of Kosam about 16 miles on the southern bank of the Jumna where it is joined by that Paisuni river, there are extensive ruins known as Kankotah or Kanak Kot. I have seen them. I excavated a part some years ago and found inscribed stone lintels. This is, I believe, the Kanakavati referred to, and the position of the two capitals recalls the similar location of Pataliputra and Vaisali.

<sup>1</sup> I see no reason to suppose that the Vatsa country is not the Kingdom of Kosambi.

There has not been much reliable result obtained yet by attempts to identify the places between Benares and Pataliputra. We have to find the kingdom of Chen-Chu, 'lord of battles.' General Cunningham's endeavour to make Ghazipur the equivalent of Chen-Chu is strained and unfortunately, I fear, does not rest on any solid fact. The form locally given of the ancient name is not, I understand, Garjapur but Gadhipur. The General might as well have said that 'Ghāzi' is equivalent to 'lord of battles.' The name of the kingdom or, may it not be, of its ruler, is *translated* into Chinese as Chen-Chu. Its capital was on the banks of the Ganges. This is, unfortunately, not a certain key to the place in modern times. A careful examination of local traditions in connection with existing ruins and names may lead to identifications.

I may illustrate the value of tradition by quoting a very curious history handed down of a kingdom which may be that referred to by the Traveller. There was a king somewhere who had a daughter called Kanchavi for whom he could not get a husband. His pandits told him that it was written in her destiny that she should marry a man of low caste. He asked who this might be and they said he was a certain servant in the king's retinue who was a Piṣvān. A Piṣvān is explained in the story as being a Cheru and the Cherus are said to be represented now by the Dusadhs. The king resolved to send this servant to the end of the earth. He therefore wrote a letter and calling him up told him that Rāmacandra had been born and that he must take this letter, an invitation to Kanchavi's wedding and find Rāmacandra and hand him the letter. He warned him further that, if he returned without delivering the letter, he would be sawn in two. The servant set out and endured great privations and hardships, wandering here and there from place to place, until he met a venerable man in a jungle, who was in reality Rāmacandra and who asked him who he was and where he was going. The king's messenger then told him all about his mission and the letter which he carried. Rāmacandra informed him that he was a *cela* or follower of the person sought and he would accept the letter for him. The messenger delivered the invitation which Rāmacandra read and said: 'Go back, I have accepted the invitation. It is you who will marry the girl.' The Piṣvān now turned homeward and as he was passing through the Waina forest he heard a voice calling out: 'Who are you?' but he could see no one. He heard the question repeated again and again and at length replied: "Who are you that I hear calling while I see no one?" The answer came: "I am a tree that bears no fruit and I am sad because other trees have fruit while I



yield none. If you know any remedy for this, tell me." The messenger though a Dusadh had been a king in a former birth but because of his misconduct he had been reborn as a Dusadh, and all his wealth and greatness and evil deeds lay buried at the root of this tree, and prevented the tree fulfilling its purpose as a fruit-bearer. Now, by his interview with Rāmacandra, he had obtained illumination and was enabled to see his former life, and he at once knew that it was under this tree that his wealth lay buried: so he told the tree to lean over that he might take out what lay at its root. This the tree did and the man took out his former wealth and recovered his greatness. He became a Raja once more, employed a number of men and built a palace on the spot. He enlisted an army and marched to marry the princess Kanchavi. He encamped in her father's country. The king thinking of his daughter's unmarried state came out and asked him to marry her but, not desiring to seem anxious, he refused, saying that he did not intend to marry for he preferred to spend his days in visiting places of pilgrimage. When the king pressed him he married Kanchavi, who subsequently recognised him by certain marks which he bore. When he returned to his country he built four forts and his descendants were kings for four hundred years. The four forts lie in the Ballia District: the first Waina is in the Wainaban where he had found his wealth under the tree; the second is Kopachit; the third is Sikandarpur;<sup>1</sup> and the fourth was where Husenabad now is in the Banodih Tahsil.

At first sight this seems a very silly tale but the key to its value lies in the word 'Piṇvān,' which is from the Sanscrit Piṇ 'yellow.' There is no caste or race in India called Piṇvān but the word refers obviously to a yellow Race. This is the Mongolian or Chinese people. Hwen Thsang tells us of the men from Tu-ko-lo beyond the snowy mountains (obviously yellow people) who came and wandered in India friendless and inhospitably treated, till they met a king who built for them the monastery of the 'unpierced ears.' It was an ornamented building of small dimensions near a lake. The modern Waina in Ballia has ancient remains and it lies to the south of the broad expanse of water known as the Suraha Tal. A few miles S. E. is Ballia itself, the Bhṛgvāgrāma, the Kapileśvara and the Dharmāranya; and until the last floods washed it away here too on the Ganges bank, I am told, was a temple of the Sun-God, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. The general conclusion is that the monastery of the unpierced ears will be found at

<sup>1</sup> There are extensive ruins at Sikandarpur and close by we meet with Rahilapāli, which reminds us of Rāhula and the old Brahman. This place with reference to Sewan as Kusinara fits in with the place visited by Hwen Thsang on his way to Benares.



Waina<sup>1</sup> or in its neighbourhood, and that it was at Ballia that Hwen Thsang crossed the Ganges to go to Mo-ha-so-lo (Masār).

I regret the length of this communication but I have been anxious for sometime past to contribute what I could to the researches now in progress. I have endeavoured to avoid all appearance of dogmatic assertions and remembered that it is extremely unsafe to argue about places which I have not seen or which others have not fully explored. If I can by suggestions, however crude, assist others in research, I am satisfied.

#### APPENDIX.

*An edition of a new copper-plate inscription of Jayādityadeva II.—*  
By DR. T. BLOCH.

This Inscription, which is edited here for the first time, has been referred to in the preceding paper on page 76. Regarding its find-place, etc., Dr. Hoey makes the following remarks:—

“I have found it very difficult to trace out the place where this copper-plate, which the son of the Raja of Bansi made over to me, was originally found. It came into the possession of the Bansi family through Durbali Ram Tewari, a Pandit employed to look after a Sanscrit library which the Bansi Rajas have kept up. A very old man named Gauri Charan Lal of Kubabar tells me that a Brahman of Gurmha brought in this copper-plate two years after the mutiny and asked to have it read. So he sent it on through his brother, then employed at Bansi, to the Pandit. The mode of discovery was this. Some men were employed to dig kunkar at the North-East corner of the large sheet of water covering over 30 acres at the village Gurmha. It is a long strip of water extending within Rakhnakhor and Pachgawan. The kunkar was to be supplied for some purpose by two Dakhani Brahmans, who had taken a contract. The labourers, in the course of excavation, found two pots, one containing silver coins, the other gold coins and this Copper-plate. Of course the coins have long since disappeared. I have not been able to visit this place, but I shall now furnish some notes regarding it, and other places of interest, in the same Tappa *Pachgawan*, which lies North of Gorakhpur City. These notes are reliable, because they have been recorded by an English-speaking, well-educated native Magistrate, who is a graduate, and has, in his enquiries, acted under my instructions and provided me with photographs.

*Gurmha* is not a large village, but the lake is remarkable for a very massive high mound of bricks at the East side, on top of which rises a

<sup>1</sup> Wainaban is clearly the Vinayaka-vana, the forest of discipline (Vinaya), a parallel to the dharmāranya of the Hindus and Buddhists.

huge pipal tree Some sculptured remains have been found here, and taken to the monastic cell of a goslain who lives North of the lake. *Pachgawan*, which is south-west of the lake, is a very old place, from which people have recovered grindstones of antique pattern. I think there must be something of importance in the word Gurmha, because the name Gurmhi occurs as that of the small tappa in which Sohgaura, and Tikar, where I recovered the Indo-Pali Copper-plate, are situated.

*Bharuhia* lies west of Tighra near Peppeganj railway station. Here there is a very ancient temple which has been restored, or repaired, and in one wall of it there is a stone containing a Sanscrit inscription. The temple is called Pitesar Nath. The proper form of the name occurs in the inscription. There was another ancient building in ruins east of Bharuhia called Nakta Dei, which some Tharus overturned about 60 years ago, when they came in a body and searched for treasure.

There are other places which might repay examination, for instance Gāngpār and Khātapār near Bharuhia and Tighra. West of this there is a series of almost continuous village sites: Rāmghat, Pallia, Pachwāra, Dihwa and Ramwapur, in each of which there are ruins. They seem to be a connected block, as though they were the site of one continuous city.

In order, if possible, to discover what was the *Vijayapura* referred to in the copper-plate, I made enquiries as to old sites in this neighbourhood, and I came to find that there are round about Gorakhpur the following remains of ancient fortified posts, which it may be as well to record. (1) *Shergarh* west of the Rapti and of Gorakhpur much cut away by the river. (2) *Ramgarh* which gives its name to a large lake east of Gorakhpur city. (3) *Sumergarh* north of Bhathat about 13 miles north of Gorakhpur. (4) *Bheriagarh* north-east of Gorakhpur city. (5) *Baitalgarh* on some high ground near the road leading from Gorakhpur to Pipraich. (6) *Marwargarh* near the shrine of Tarkulla Devi two miles north-east of Mirzapur village. (7) *Kuwalgarh* at *Kawalda* in the immediate north of Gorakhpur city. (8) *Domangarh* on the Rapti, west of Gorakhpur city. (9) *Bijaiagarh* known as Kotiya, standing in the big sheet of water west of the now ruined Mahesra bridge south of Maniram railway station.

There is a tradition of two kingdoms Bijaipur and Udaipur. A line drawn from Padrauna westward to the Rapti would about indicate the parting line. North of it lay Udaipur and south of it Bijaipur. I am not inclined to say that all the nine forts enumerated were simultaneously existent as fortified posts of the Bijaipur kingdom. Local traditions show that this could not have been so; but the existence of so many of these ancient strongholds, round about the junction of

the Rohiṇī and Rapti rivers, shows that the position was recognized from the earliest times as one of strategic advantage."

The inscription is engraved on a single copper-plate measuring  $12\frac{3}{4}$ " by  $12\frac{3}{4}$ ". On the top there is an oval projection, upon which we find the representation of full-blown lotus, the centre of which consists of a raised disc bearing the image of some animal, perhaps a boar, with *Grī-Jayāditya-devaḥ* written below in raised characters. The writing consists of 24 lines, covering only three quarter of one side of the plate. It is fairly well executed and well preserved; however, the meaning of a few passages remains doubtful. The characters belong to the northern alphabet and are in every respect similar to those of the Gorakhpur plate of the same king, belonging to this society, and edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, 1892, p. 169 ff. Thus, in the conjunct letter *rya* the *r* is written on the line in *pariyanta* (ll. 1 & 12), and *kāryā* (l. 19); and the *anusvāra* is placed after not above the *akṣara* to which it belongs in *pravṛttinām* (l. 5), and *bhūbhujān* (l. 19). The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of four imprecatory and benedictive verses in ll. 17-21, and a verse referring to the grantee, the *Kāyastha Keçava* in ll. 22-24, it is in prose.

The object of the Inscription was to record a grant made by king Jayādityadeva II. (l. 8), who was the son of Dharmmādityadeva and his wife Candrādevī (l. 4) and the grandson of Jayādityadeva I. and his wife Yogādevī (ll. 3 & 4), all of whom belonged to the Malayaketu family (l. 3) and received the titles *paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameçvara*. The document was issued from Vijayapura (l. 1). The grant consisted in the village Kumāraṣaṇḍikā, connected with the *pallikās*: Patraṣaṇḍā, Çaṅkuṣaṇḍā, Gāddhī, and Deulī, which lay in the Leḍḍikā *viṣaya* and the Daddaraṇḍikā *maṇḍala* (l. 8). It was given to a *Kāyastha Keçava*, son of a *Kāyastha Dhemuka*, and grandson of a *Kāyastha Rudra*, in recognition of good services rendered by him to the king (l. 13). Its boundaries are laid down in l. 15; they were: in the east the river Rohiṇī; in the south a *tilaka* tree; in the west the ditch called Hastilaṇḍa; in the north a *kumbhī* tree. The document is signed by the minister (*mahāmantri*) Māhaka. The *mahāsāmanta* Grahakaṇḍa acted as *dūtaka*. The inscription was written by the *Kāyastha Valadduka*. Its date is given as *Samvat* 921 (ll. 21-22).

The date doubtless must be referred to the Vikrama era. Of the geographical names mentioned in this inscription, the river Rohiṇī is the only one that at present can be identified. As regards Vijayapura, we learn from the Gorakhpur Inscription (*l.c.* p. 170) that it was situated on the slopes of the Himalaya (*uttaragiri-kāṭake*).

I now edit the inscription from the original plate:—

*Transcript.*

1. 1, Om Svasti! Çri-VIJAYAPURĀC=catur-udadhi-paryanta-nirantar-ākṛānta-kirtti-santatinām=ananta-nitānta-phal-ānumeya-āravdha(bdha)-vividha-kṛtyānām jagad-udayāya gr̥hi-
1. 2, ta-dṛḍha-vratānām=ati-samrūḍha-rājar̥ṣi-patha-sampravart-tayitṛṇām samautād-gr̥hita-pūrvva-niti-vyavahārānām prajānām=upakarttavayam=ity=evam=ādṛta-matiḥ<sup>1</sup>
1. 3, samastetikāyo<sup>2</sup>MALAYAKETŪNĀM=anvaye || paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameçvara-çri-JAYĀDITYADEVAS=tat-putras=tat-pād-ānudhyāto mahādevyām rājñi-
1. 4, çri-YOGĀDEVYĀM samutpannaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameçvara-çri-DHARMĀDITYADEVAS=tat-putras=tat-pād-ānudhyāto mahādevyām rājñi-çri-CA-
1. 5, NDRĀDEVYĀM samutpannas=sahajasya vidyā-janitasya ca sam-skārasy=ādhāro dharm-ārtha-kāma-viruddhānām=indriya-pravṛttinām sanniroddhā prāyeṇa vikram-aika-ras-ā-
1. 6, bhiprāya-vāda-bhidyamāna-pracaṇḍ-ārāti-maṇḍalō naya-vinaya-prasādhit-āçeṣa-bhū-maṇḍalaḥ sarvva-dāiv-ākhaṇḍita-matir=Ākhaṇḍala-tūlya-tejā rājabhiḥ
1. 7, çiro-bhiruhyamān-āpratihata-çāsanah çāsanānām pradātā paramamāheçvaro Maheçvara iva sarvva-satva<sup>3</sup>-kṣema-tat-parah paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
1. 8, dhirāja-parameçvara<sup>4</sup>-çri=JAYĀDITYADEVAH kuçali || DADDARAṆPIKĀ-maṇḍale | LEPPIKĀ-viṣay-āntarvartti-KUMĀRAṢAṆḍIKĀ-grāme | Patraṣaṇḍā | Çaṅkuṣaṇḍā | Gāddhi | Deu-
1. 9, li-pallik-ānvite | samupagat-āçeṣa-rājana(nya)ka-rājaputra-rājasthāniya-purohit-āmātya-mahāsāmanta-mahāsāndhi-vigrahika-mahāpratihāra-mahākṣapaṭalika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-
1. 10, pañcamaṇḍapādhipati-mauladāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāçika-mahāsā-dhanika-cauroddharāṇika-çaulkika-gaulmikān || anyāṇḍ<sup>5</sup>=c=ākirttitān=ā-cāṭa-bhata-vra(brā)hmaṇ-ottara-jana-
1. 11, padaṇç=ca<sup>6</sup> yathārham=mānayati pūjayati vo(bo)dhayati samājñāpayati ca[||\*] Vidadam=astu bhavatām=ayam=uparilikhita-grāmas=sajala-sthalas=sāmra-m[adh\*]ūkaḥ sagartt-oṣaras=sa-
1. 12, loha-lavaṇ-ākaraç=catus-simā-paryantas=sva-pallik-opetaḥ samasta-rājapratyādāya-samaveto bhūmicchidraka-nyāyen=

<sup>1</sup> Read *matinām*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *sattva*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *anyāmç*.

<sup>4</sup> I am unable to make out the meaning of this word.

<sup>5</sup> Originally written *parameçvaraḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *padāmç* = *ca*.

ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālina[m\*] yāvat=pūrvva-bhukta-bhu-

1. 13, jyamāna-deva-vrā (brā)hmaṇa-kṣetra-khaṇḍito=smābhir=atisev-ārādhitau (tai)ḥ=Caravāsaka-satka-kāyastha-RUDRA-putrāya kāyaspha(stha)-DHĒMUKA-putrāya Singhapad-dhateḥ kāyastha-
1. 14, KEÇAVĀYA | ḡāsanena prasādi-kṛtō matvā bhavadbhir=anumantavyam nivāsibhiḥ=c=ājñā-ḡravaṇa-vidheyi-bhūya samucita-bhāga-bhog-ādikam=asya samupanetavyam[¶\*]
1. 15, Tatra ca simāno likhyante | pūrvvasyām diḡi sima-nirṇu- (rṇṇa)ya-kāriṇi Rohiṇi nāma nadi | dakṣiṇasyān=tu tilaka-tarur=avatisthate | paçcimāyām Ha-
1. 16, stilanḡ-ākhyah khātaḥ | tath=ottarasyāni kumbhi-vṛkṣaḥ | evañ=catasṛṣv=api dikṣu vibhakta-simakam grāmam=prasādi-kṛtya tat=kṣaṇam=eva nṛpati-
1. 17, r=idam=avādit | Va(Ba)hubhir<sup>1</sup>=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya ya lā bhūmis= tasya tasya tadā phalaṇi | (¶) Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā yo hareta
1. 18, vasundharām | Sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir=bhūtā pitrbhis=saha pacyate ¶ Dattāyāḥ<sup>2</sup>. paripālanaṁ bhavati yad=deva-dvije-bhyo bluva[s\*]=tyāgas=tatra na ko=pi praṅga-
1. 19, mahatiḥ kāryānu(ṇta)ram=bhūbhujām ¶ (¶) n=aiv=ānyah para-kīrti-pālana-guṇo vyāçasyate kevalaḥ | idṛçyāḥ (çyā)khalu ve(vai) sadā vanārata[h\*] stutyā stute(tās)=tyā-
1. 20, ginaḥ ¶ Iti<sup>3</sup> kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vindu-lolām Çriyam=a[¶u\*]cintya manuṣya-jivitañ=ca[¶\*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛ-taṇ=ca vudhvā(buddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-
1. 21, kīrttayo vilopyāḥ | (¶) Jñātam=mahāmantri-çṛi-MĀHAKENA mahattara-çṛi-Vappeka-sutena[¶\*] Dūtako=tra mahāsā-manta-çṛi-GRAHAKUṆḡAḤ | (¶) Likhitañ=c=āitan=Mahā-
1. 22, nadi-putreṇa | Saiṅghapura-kāyastha-mahākṣapaṭalika-çṛi-VALADDUKEN=eti ¶ Samvat 921[¶\*] Yena<sup>4</sup> grāma-turaṅga-hema-surabhi-vastr-ādinā tarppitā viprā ye-
1. 23, na ca devatālaya-miṣeṇ=ākāri dharṇm-occayaḥ | pūṇṇaṇi puṇya-jalais=tadāgam=akarod=yah kṣīra-sindh-ūpamaṁ ten=edaṁ nija-ḡāsanam karaṇika-çṛi-KEÇAVEN=ārjjitaṁ
1. 24, ¶

<sup>1</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh ; and of the next verse.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Çārdūlavikṛīḡita ; I am unable to correct all the mistakes occurring in this verse.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Puṣpitāgrā.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Çārdūlavikṛīḡita.



*An Epigraphical Note on Palm-leaf, Paper and Birch-bark.—By*

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D., C.I.E.

[Read May, 1898.]

In his admirable summary of Indian Palæography which forms a part of the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research, the late Professor Bühler says (I translate from the German) that "it cannot be doubted but that the two large-leaved palms, the *tāḍatāla* (*Borassus flabelliformis*) and the *tāḍitāli* (*Corypha umbraculifera*, *C. taliera*) which probably were originally indigenous in South-India, but have now spread into the Panjāb, are those the leaves of which were principally employed" in India as writing-material (see § 37, C.). This statement, which merely repeats a general, oft-repeated opinion, is not quite accurate and therefore apt to mislead. It conveys the impression as if the leaves of those two palms had been used contemporaneously and indifferently throughout India. This is not correct. In preparing the introduction to my edition of the Bower Manuscript, I had occasion to specially enquire into this point. In the result I found (1) that up to a certain point of time, *Corypha umbr.* was the only palm, the leaves of which were used throughout India, and (2) that the use of the leaves of *Borassus fl.* commenced at a comparatively late period, and was, and is still, limited to the South and East of India. In the sequel I will try to show this. There are some minor inaccuracies in the above-quoted statement, which the following explanation will also set right.

The two Indian palms, which alone come into question in this connection, are (1) the (true) Talipat palm, *Corypha umbraculifera*, also *C. Taliera*; and (2) the Palmyra palm or Tarigach, *Borassus flabellifer*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Bengal the *Corypha umbr.* is called *Tedeḷ*, while the *Borassus fl.* is called *Tāl*, and the proportion of the two palms is about 1 : 1000. The correct name of the *Borassus*, as Dr. Prain, the Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sibpur, informs me, is not *flabelliformis*, as usually given, but *flabellifer*, this being the name given to the palm by *Linnaeus* who first determined it. There is every



The former grows *wild* in Ceylon and on the Malabar coast, up to about the 13th Lat.; thence it freely grows *cultivated* up the west coast as far as the Concan (16th Lat.), and much less so as far as Bombay (19th Lat.); it also grows (but very uncommonly) *cultivated* up the whole of the East coast into Lower Bengal. It does not grow anywhere in the central part, or the high-lands of Southern India.

The *Borassus fl.* does not grow *wild* anywhere in India, but only *cultivated*, near villages. It grows throughout India, excepting only the Panjāb, Upper Sindh, and the northern-most portions of Rājputānā and of the North-West Provinces. In fact, its northern limit is (about) the 27th or 28th Lat.

The difference between these two palms is that whereas *Corypha umbr.* is *indigenous* to (Southern) India, *Borassus fl.* is an *introduced* tree, having been brought in from Africa, where it grows wild and is called *Deleb*. The above statements sum up the botanical information of the present day, which has been verified afresh for the purpose of the present paper by Dr. Prain, Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sibpur, near Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> For his assistance, most kindly and readily given, in all matters touching the botany of these palms, I wish here to express my sincere thanks.

The leaves of the two palms can be easily distinguished from one another. Those of the *Corypha umbr.* are thinner and broader than those of the *Borassus fl.*; they also possess clearly marked cross-veins, in the form of rills, while the *Borassus* leaves rather present a pitted or pock-marked appearance. The width of the *Borassus* leaf never exceeds  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , and very rarely exceeds  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Among all the cases that I have actually measured I have found the latter width only exceeded in three cases. These are No. 40 in Table II which measures  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches, and Nos. 20 and 42 in Table II, which measure  $1\frac{9}{16}$  inches; all three being Southern Indian manuscripts. The majority of the *Borassus* manuscripts are something less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. A width of less than one inch is very rare; I have only met with it in two Southern Indian manuscripts, *viz.*, Nos. 18 and 37 in Table II, which measure only  $1\frac{1}{6}$  of an inch.

The usual width of the *Corypha* leaf varies between  $1\frac{3}{4}$  and 3 inches. Among the inscribed leaves examined by myself, I have not

reason to believe that *C. Taliera* and *C. umbraculifera* are identical. I understand that Dr. Prain is preparing a monograph on the subject of these palms.

<sup>2</sup> I should add, however, that, as I understand, more recent enquiries, made by Dr. Prain seem to render it doubtful whether even the *Corypha umbr.* grows *wild* anywhere in India or Ceylon. A very puzzling question then arises as to the real original home of that palm.

met with any wider than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches; though a few manuscripts which I have not seen are said to exist of the width of 3 inches (see Table III, No. 83). Manuscripts under  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide are uncommon: instances are Nos. 15, 48, 57, 64 and 67 in Table I, and Nos. 4 and 8 in Table II. A width of less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches is very exceptional. I have only found three cases, among all the manuscripts which I have measured; viz., No. 12 in Table II which is  $1\frac{2}{3}$  of an inch wide, and No. 55 in Table I and No. 5 in Table II, which are as low as  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The width, therefore, is an almost absolute test; any leaf, measuring  $1\frac{3}{4}$  and upwards is certain to be *Corypha umbr.*, while any leaf measuring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  or below, is almost certain to be *Borassus fl.* With the width of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, there may occasionally be a doubt, but this will be removed by the application of the two additional tests of thickness and venation. In any case where the actual leaf can be examined, the three tests in combination are absolutely decisive. In almost all cases where the leaf itself can not be examined, its width, if recorded, will be found decisive. Thus in the case of Add. 1706 of the Cambridge MSS., probably of A. D. 1261 (Bendall, p. 199 and Table III, No. 57), the width of which is stated to be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, I judged it to be a *Corypha* manuscript; and this was kindly verified for me by Professor Cowell by means of *Corypha* and *Borassus* specimens which I transmitted to him.

I have been speaking hitherto of the leaf in its prepared state as writing material. With regard to the natural leaf, which I had an opportunity of examining and measuring, with the kind assistance of Dr. Prain, in the Sibpur Botanic Gardens, the case stands as follows:—Both the *Corypha* and the *Borassus* palms, as is well-known, have plicate leaves folding like a fan, consisting of a number of segments. Through the middle of each segment, from end to end, runs a hard rib. The flaps on both sides of the rib are tough and flexible; and these yield the material which is prepared for writing purposes. They taper off from their widest point towards both ends; accordingly suitable strips are cut out from the middle, of such various lengths as the size of the natural half-segment will admit. These strips are prepared for writing, by boiling in water or milk; and finally, when wanted for writing a book, the required number of strips are cut down to a uniform size. Uniformity, however, was always more carefully attended to in point of length than in point of breadth. In manuscripts, of an older date especially, leaves of a much smaller breadth are occasionally mixed with others (forming the majority) which are much wider. Thus in No. 35 of Table I and Nos. 1, 4, 9, 10, 11 of Table II the occurrence of narrower leaves is indicated in brackets: they are occasionally found as narrow as  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches.

The half-segment (that is a segment divided longitudinally along the central rib) of a *Borassus* leaf, at the point of its greatest width, may measure 2 inches, but it usually measures less. It tapers off very rapidly towards both ends; hence it is not possible to cut out from it a piece of practically uniform width of more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A strip of about  $16 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  inches is the largest that can be obtained. If a greater length is desired, consistent with uniform width, the latter will be smaller. From the usual size of the natural segment, however, only prepared strips of a smaller width than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches can be obtained. Occasionally the point of uniform width is neglected, and thus leaves are obtained measuring in length up to 20 inches, with a maximum width of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Examples are Nos. 77 and 87 in Table I, the width of which grows (as noted in the Table) from 1 or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches at the ends to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in the middle of the leaf. As a rule, however, a prepared leaf, measuring a length of more than 16 inches, with a width of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, is more likely to be a *Corypha* leaf.

The half-segment of a *Corypha* leaf, at its widest point, may measure three inches. I measured one leaf of this great size in the Sibpur Royal Botanic Gardens; but it is not improbable that leaves of this size may occur more commonly in Ceylon and Malabar, where the tree grows wild. A *Corypha* segment is much longer than a *Borassus* segment, and it tapers off far more gently, than the latter, from its widest point to its ends. Hence it is possible to cut much longer and wider strips from a *Corypha* segment. The largest manuscripts that I have measured are Nos. 30 and 34 in Table I, which measure  $32\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  and  $33 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  inches respectively. The length, however, may extend to 3 feet and more, and the width to 3 inches. The largest manuscript of which I know is No. 2068 in the Notices of Sanskrit MSS. It is said to measure  $40 \times 2$  inches (see Table III, No. 138, and footnote 11). The next largest are Nos. 262 and 289 (in Professor Peterson's Report for 1884-86, pp. 109 and 142; see also Table III, No. 72). They are said to measure  $37\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  and  $37 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$  inches respectively. From the particular half segment which I measured to be 3 inches wide<sup>3</sup> strips measuring about  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 22$ , or  $2\frac{1}{4} \times 25$ , or  $2 \times 30$  inches might have been cut. On the other hand, I have also measured narrow specimens of natural *Corypha* segments which would only yield strips measuring  $16 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  inches or even less. Examples of manuscripts of this kind are Nos. 46, 57, 67 in Table I and Nos. 4, 5, 8, 12 in Table II. Of course when strips of the great width of 3 inches were desired, one would usually

<sup>3</sup> The complete natural segment, of course, measured 6 inches across. Similarly the widest complete *Borassus* segment measures 4 inches across the widest point.

have had to be contented with but a short length. The only two manuscripts of this great width that I know are No. 187 in Professor Peterson's Third Report for 1884-86 (p. 8), and No. 58 in his Fifth Report for 1892-95 (p. 98, also Table III, No. 83), both of which are 3 inches broad. The former of these is only  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The latter (dated 1369 A.D.) is said to be 32 inches long, but I suspect that this is an error: its measures probably are  $12 \times 3$  or  $32 \times 2$ .<sup>4</sup> Corypha manuscripts of very great length, however, rarely possess an uniform width. Their leaves are cut from a whole half-segment; their maximum width is in the middle and it decreases towards both ends. A good example is No. 30 in Table I, some of the leaves of which slope from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. On the other hand, good examples of great length combined with practically uniform width are Nos. 34 and 36 in Table I, the breadth of which varies by no more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch or even less. Sometimes the half-segments of Corypha leaves were cut, across their breadth, into halves, and the strips for writing were cut from these halves. In this case, of course, the maximum width is at one end of the inscribed leaf, and gradually decreases to the other end. Examples of this kind are Nos. 2, 28, 32 in Table I, the leaves of which decrease from 2 to  $1\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches respectively.

I may add that there is a kind of Corypha palm, the *Corypha elata*, which grows, probably *cultivated*, in Bengal and Bihār. But its leaves are not suitable for the purpose of writing books, and have never been so used. Its complete natural segments are much too narrow; they measure only about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and allow only strips of  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch or less to be cut from them.

Having premised this much, I may now proceed to state that I have examined the actual or facsimile leaf of 130 manuscripts. They are

<sup>4</sup> Another clear instance of an error is in the record of No. 86 (Fifth Report, p. 136). This MS., dated 1241 A.D., is said to be of palm-leaf and to measure  $16 \times 4$  inches. This width of 4 inches, for a palm-leaf MS., is an impossibility; it would indicate a natural segment of the width of at least 8 inches!! Prof. Bhandarkar, whom I consulted, writes to me: "There must be some mistake about the breadth of the leaves of No. 86. I have seen the MSS. in the Deccan College and a good many at Pātān, perhaps the same as those catalogued by Dr. Peterson, but I do not remember having seen any leaves of that breadth. Dr. Peterson's cataloguing work was done by clerks and agents, and it is not unlikely that it was not done with the scrupulous care of the scientific scholar." The measures would suit a paper MS.; and that possibly is the solution of the error. There is a similar error in Bendall's Catalogue of the Cambridge MSS. Here Add. 1633 is described as a palm-leaf MS. of the extraordinary breadth of 5 inches. It is, however, a Paper MS., as I am informed by Professor Cowell, who, at my request, very kindly inspected the manuscript.

shown in the subjoined Tables I and II, with 87 and 43 Nos. respectively. Table I contains manuscripts, of which the date is known, while Table II contains manuscripts of conjectural dates. The lists are not selected ones in any other sense than that I have included in it none but such manuscripts as I have actually seen and examined myself, and thus determined the palm to which their leaves belong. Those manuscripts (27 out of 130) of which I have seen leaves only in photographic facsimile are marked with an asterisk. The manuscripts marked "Kielhorn" and "Bhandarkar" are preserved in the Deccan College in Poona. The opportunity of inspecting them I owe to the kindness of Mr. Giles, Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, and Professor Abaji Kathavate of the Deccan College, who transmitted specimen leaves to me. The numbers refer to the Reports on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency for 1880-81 and 1887-91. The Tanjore manuscripts, which are referred to by their numbers in Burnell's Classified Catalogue, were transmitted to me by Mr. Geo. T. Oliver, the Receiver and Manager of the Tanjore Palace Estate; so were those, marked "in private hands," by Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah, an officer of the Darbhanga Rāj. To both these gentlemen I wish here to express my sincere thanks. Nearly the whole of the remainder of the list are manuscripts preserved in Calcutta in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Government of India. They are referred to as "Mitra," "Ind. Govt." and "Notices." These, of course, I had no difficulty in inspecting. My friends, Mahā-mahōpadhyāya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, and Muni Hans Vijay-ji, the head of one of the Jain Ṣākhās, were also kind enough to let me see a few palm-leaf manuscripts in their possession. I may add that the measurements of all the manuscripts in the two lists have been made or verified by myself.



TABLE I.<sup>5</sup>

| No. | A. D. | Date.       | Reference.             | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure.     |
|-----|-------|-------------|------------------------|---------|------|--------------|
| 1   | [450] |             | Fragments, J. A. S. B. | W. Ind. | Cor. | ? × 2        |
| 2*  | [520] |             | Horiuzi.               | W. Ind. | Cor. | 11 × 2 to 1½ |
| 3*  | [550] |             | Add. 1702, Bendall.    | W. Ind. | Cor. | 12 × 2       |
| 4*  | 859   | Harṣa 252.  | Add. 1049, Bendall.    | W. Ind. | Cor. | 16 × 2       |
| 5*  | 1008  | Nep. 128.   | Add. 866, Bendall.     | Nep.    | Cor. | 21 × 2       |
| 6   | 1014  | Nep. 134.   | No. 3828, Ind. Govt.   | Nep.    | Cor. | 12¾ × 2½     |
| 7*  | 1015  | Nep. 135.   | Pal. Soc., No. XXI.    | Nep.    | Cor. | 21½ × 2½     |
|     | 1020  | 5 Mahipāla. | Add. 1464, Bendall.    | Bih.    | Cor. | 21 × 2½      |
|     | 1026  | Nep. 146.   | See No. 6 above.       |         | Cor. |              |
| 9   | 1071  | Nep. 191.   | A 15, Mitra.           | Nep.    | Cor. | 22¾ × 2¼     |
| 10  | 1078  | Nep. 198.   | No. 3830, Ind. Govt.   | Nep.    | Cor. | 18 × 1¾      |
| 11* | 1084  | Nep. 204.   | Pal. Soc., No. XVII.   | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2       |
| 12  | 1089  | Sam. 1145.  | No. 35, Kielhorn.      | W. Ind. | Cor. | 25½ × 2¼     |
| 13  | 1090  | Sam. 1146.  | No. 36, do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | 25½ × 2¼     |

<sup>5</sup> About No. 6 see *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXII (1893), p. 252. The MS. has two dates; viz., N. S. 134 on the outside of the first written leaf, and N. S. 146 in the colophon, on the last leaf. These are probably the dates of beginning and finishing the copy. There are similarly two dates on No. 50; viz., Lakṣ. 374 and Çak 1423. As to No. 72 I may note that under No. 2126 of the "Notices" two manuscripts are described. The Government manuscript is a Corypha MS., and is entered here in Table I. The other manuscript, which I have not seen, is entered in Table III, No. 128; and to judge from its measurements, it is a Borassus MS. The date of the Government manuscript, however, is *çakābdāḥ* | 16 | with a lacuna for the units and tens, which may mean 1600 as Dr. Mitra assumed; but it may be also a later date. The measurements of Nos. 26 and 41 have been kindly verified for me by the Honorary Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society. Some leaves of Nos. 39 and 42 are much narrower, viz.,  $32 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  (1) and  $15 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ ) respectively. The equation of the dates of the Lakṣmaṇīya Era has been made with 1105, the present year 1898 being = 793 L. E., and the 1st year of that era running from the 15 Jan., 1106, to the 15th January, 1107. No. 65 is dated Çaka 1555 and San 1041. The latter date refers to the Faṣlī Era of Bengal, and is = 1633 A.D.; see Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 82. "Pal. Soc." refers to the Publications of the London Palaeographical Society. In the case of a few manuscripts, such as No. 17, 55, etc., the length is not given by me, because at the time I examined them, I forgot to take a note of it.



| No.             | A.D.   | Date.                | Reference.            | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure.                                               |
|-----------------|--------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 14 <sup>6</sup> | 1116   | Sam. 1172.           | Muni Hans Vijay-ji.   | W. Ind. | Cor. | $29 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$                               |
| 15              | 1120   | Sam. 1176.           | No. 53, Kielhorn.     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $13 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$                               |
| 16              | 1120   | 15 Rāma-<br>pāla.    | In my possession.     | Bih.    | Cor. | $22 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                               |
| 17              | 1130   | Nep. 250.            | With H. P. Shāstri.   | Nep.    | Cor. | 2                                                      |
| 18*             | 1132   | Sam. 1189.           | With Prof. Bühler.    | N. Ind. | Cor. | 2                                                      |
| 19              | 113[8] | Sam. 119*.           | No. 58, Kielhorn.     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $28 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$                               |
| 20*             | 1165   | Nep. 285.            | Add. 1693, Bendall.   | Nep.    | Cor. | $16 \times 2\frac{3}{8}$                               |
| 21*             | 1165   | 4 Gōvinda-<br>pāla.  | No. 1, R. As. Soc.    | Bih.    | Cor. | $22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$                    |
| 22*             | 1166   | Nep. 286.            | No. 2, R. As. Soc.    | Nep.    | Cor. | $22\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                               |
| 23*             | 1167   | Nep. 287.            | Add. 1686, Bendall.   | Nep.    | Cor. | $11 \times 2$                                          |
| 24*             | 1179   | Nep. 299.            | Add. 1691, Bendall.   | Nep.    | Cor. | $12 \times 2$                                          |
| 25              | 1185   | 24 Govinda-<br>pāla. | No. 3822, Ind. Govt.  | Bih.    | Cor. | $11\frac{3}{4} \times 2$                               |
| 26*             | 1198   | Nep. 318.            | No. 69, R. As. Soc.   | Nep.    | Cor. | $12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                               |
| 27*             | 1199   | 38 Gōvinda-<br>pāla. | Add. 1699, Bendall.   | Bih.    | Cor. | $11\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$                    |
| 28              | 1208   | Sam. 1264.           | No. 8, Kielhorn.      | W. Ind. | Cor. | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$  |
| 29*             | 1229   | Çak. 1151.           | Pal. Soc., No. I.     |         | Cor. | $17\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                    |
| 30              | 1238   | Sam. 1294.           | No. 38, Kielhorn.     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $32\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$  |
| 31              | 1276   | Sam. 1332.           | No. 3, do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$                    |
| 32              | 1284   | Sam. 1340.           | No. 60, do.           | W. Ind. | Cor. | $15 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$             |
| 33*             | 1286   | Nep. 406.            | Pal. Soc., No. XXXII. | Nep.    | Cor. | $13 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                               |
| 34*             | 1291   | Sam. 1348.           | Pal. Soc., No. LVIII. |         | Cor. | $33 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                               |
| 35              | 1297   | Kal. 4398.           | No. 34, Kielhorn.     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $14\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ ) |
| 36              | 1303   | Sam. 1359.           | No. 37, do.           | W. Ind. | Cor. | $30\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                    |

<sup>6</sup> This is a manuscript written by Açōka Candra and Dhanēçvara Sādhū, and corrected by Vardhamāna Sūri (apparently the author), Nēmicandra Munīçvara, and Pārçvacandra Upādhyāya. The name of the work is Dharma Karaṇḍaka Sūtra Tīkā, and its author is Vardhamāna Sūri, a pupil of Abhayadēva Sūri. Its date is given in the following çloka: *vikramatō varṣāṇām çatēṣu = ēkādaçaśv = atitēṣu | dvā-saptatjā varṣair = adhikēṣu kṛtā vikṛtir = ēṣā* ||

| No. | A.D. | Date.      | Reference.                        | Loc.    | Mat.             | Measure.                                                                              |
|-----|------|------------|-----------------------------------|---------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 37  | 1319 | Lakṣ. 214. | In private hands.                 | Bih.    | Cor.             | $15\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$                                                   |
| 38  | 1331 | Nep. 451.  | No. 3824, Ind. Govt.              | Nep.    | Cor.             | $12 \times 2$                                                                         |
| 39  | 1340 | Sam. 1396. | Muni Hans Vijay-ji.               | W. Ind. | Cor.             | $32 \times 2\frac{3}{16}(1\frac{1}{2})$                                               |
| 40  | 1356 | Nep. 476.  | No. 3823, Ind. Govt.              | Nep.    | Cor.             | $11\frac{1}{4} \times 2$                                                              |
| 41* | 1364 | Nep. 484.  | No. 74, R. As. Soc.               | Nep.    | Cor.             | $12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$                                                   |
| 42  | 1368 | Sam. 1424. | Muni Hans Vijay-ji.               | W. Ind. | Cor.             | $15 \times 2\frac{3}{4}(2)$                                                           |
| 43* | 1372 | Nep. 492.  | Pal. Soc., No. LVII.              | Nep.    | Cor.             | $20\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$                                                   |
| 44* | 1385 | Nep. 505.  | Add. 1395, Bendall.               | Nep.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                                                              |
| 45  | 1386 | Sam. 1442. | No. 1980, Notices.                | Beng.   | Cor.             | $11 \times 2$                                                                         |
| 46  | 1395 | Nep. 515.  | Ind. Gov.                         | Nep.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                   |
| 47* | 1446 | Sam. 1503. | Pal. Soc., No. XXXIII.            | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                                                   |
| 48  | 1450 | Lakṣ. 345. | In private hands.                 | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              |
| 49  | 1467 | Lakṣ. 362. | No. 3821, Ind. Govt.              | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13 \times 2$                                                                         |
| 50  | 1479 | Lakṣ. 374. | No. 4026, Ind. Govt.              | Bih.    | Cor.             | $11\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                                                              |
|     | 1507 | Çak. 1423. | See No. 50 above, and footnote 5. |         |                  |                                                                                       |
| 51  | 1504 | Lakṣ. 399. | No. 1979, Notices.                | Bih.    | Cor.             | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                                                   |
| 52  | 1513 | Lakṣ. 408. | In private hands.                 | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{13}{16}$                                                 |
| 53  | 1514 | Çak. 1436. | No. 1273 Notices.                 | Beng.   | Cor.             | $14\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$                                                   |
| 54  | 1531 | Çak. 1453. | No. 1165 do.                      | Beng.   | Cor.             | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                                                              |
| 55  | 1553 | Çak. 1475. | H. Prasāda Shāstri.               | Beng.   | Cor.             | $1\frac{1}{4}$                                                                        |
| 56* | 1557 | Lakṣ. 452. | Pal. Soc., No. LXXXII.            | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{5}{8} \times 2$                                                              |
| 57  | 1572 | Çak. 1494. | No. 1274, Notices.                | Beng.   | Cor.             | $13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                   |
| 58  | 1575 | Lakṣ. 470. | In private hands.                 | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$                                                   |
| 59* | 1583 |            | Add. 1556, Bendall.               |         | Cor.             | $2\frac{1}{2}$                                                                        |
| 60  | 1587 | Çak. 1509. | No. 1976, Notices.                | Beng.   | { Cor.<br>Bor. } | $12 \times \left\{ \begin{matrix} 1\frac{7}{8} \\ 1\frac{1}{2} \end{matrix} \right\}$ |
| 61  | 1594 | Çak. 1516. | No. 1975 do.                      | Beng.   | Bor.             | $12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              |
| 62  | 1608 | Lakṣ. 503. | In private hands.                 | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$                                                   |
| 63  | 1609 | Lakṣ. 504. | do.                               | Bih.    | Cor.             | $13\frac{3}{4} \times 2$                                                              |

| No. | A.D. | Date.                    | Reference.            | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure.                                 |
|-----|------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------|------|------------------------------------------|
| 64  | 1616 | Lakṣ. 511.               | In private hands.     | Bih.    | Cor. | $14\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$      |
| 65  | 1633 | Çak. 1555.               | do.                   | Bih.    | Cor. | $12 \times 1\frac{7}{8}$                 |
| 66  | 1647 | Çak. 1569.               | do.                   | Bih.    | Cor. | $11\frac{1}{4} \times 2$                 |
| 67  | 1661 | Lakṣ. 556.               | do.                   | Bih.    | Cor. | $12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$      |
| 68  | 1668 | Çak. 1590.               | do.                   | Bih.    | Cor. | $7\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$       |
| 69  | 1669 | Çak. 1591                | do.                   | Bih.    | Cor. | $7 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$                  |
|     | 1660 | Lakṣ. 555                |                       |         |      |                                          |
| 70  | 1675 | Çak. 1597.               | H. Prasāda Shāstri.   | Beng.   | Bor. | $1\frac{3}{8}$                           |
| 71  | 1677 | Çak. 1599.               | do. do.               | Beng.   | Bor. | $1\frac{1}{2}$                           |
| 72  | 1678 | Çak. 1600.               | No. 2126, Notices.    | Beng.   | Cor. | $15\frac{1}{4} \times 2$                 |
| 73  | 1680 | Çak. 1602.               | In private hands.     | Bih.    | Cor. | $14 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$                 |
| 74  | 1683 | $\frac{29}{24}$ Mukunda. | Ind. Govt.            | Oris.   | Bor. | $? \times 1\frac{1}{4}$                  |
| 75  | 1683 | $\frac{29}{24}$ Mukunda. | do.                   | Oris.   | Bor. | $15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$                 |
| 76  | 1687 | Çak. 1609.               | No. 1551, Notices.    | Beng.   | Bor. | $11 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$                 |
| 77  | 1688 | Çak. 1610.               | No. 1550 do.          | Beng.   | Bor. | $20 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1            |
| 78  | 1689 | Çak. 1611.               | No. 1580 do.          | Beng.   | Bor. | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$      |
| 79  | 1690 | $\frac{41}{38}$ Mukunda. | No. 2837, do.         | Oris.   | Bor. | $16 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$                 |
| 80  | 1694 | Çak. 1616.               | No. 10040, Tanjore.   | S. Ind. | Bor. | $10\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$      |
| 81  | 1708 | 17 Divya-Simha.          | Ind. Govt.            | Oris.   | Bor. | $15\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$      |
| 82  | 1721 | Çak. 1643.               | H. Prasāda Shāstri.   | Beng.   | Cor. | $2\frac{1}{4}$                           |
| 83* | 1724 |                          | Burnell, S. Ind. Pal. | S. Ind. | Cor. | $15\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$      |
| 84  | 1739 | Çak. 1661.               | No. 1845, Notices.    | Bih.    | Cor. | $15\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                 |
| 85  | 1752 | 10 Kēçari-Dēva.          | Ind. Govt.            | Oris.   | Bor. | $14\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$      |
| 86  | 1766 | 24 do.                   | do.                   | Oris.   | Bor. | $15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$                 |
| 87  | 1815 | Çak. 1737.               | No. 1607, Notices.    | Beng.   | Bor. | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 |

All manuscripts in the foregoing Table (with the exception of Nos. 1-3) bear an actual date. The following Table II includes manuscripts the approximate date of which can be fixed with some degree of certainty. This has been done by myself, mainly on palæographic grounds, in all cases except those marked with the letter B. The date

of the latter is that given to them by Dr. Burnell in his Classified Catalogue of Tanjore Manuscripts.

TABLE II.

| No.             | A. D. | Reference.            | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure.                                               |
|-----------------|-------|-----------------------|---------|------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1               | 1150  | No. 44, Kielhorn.     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ ( $1\frac{3}{8}$ ) |
| 2               | 1150  | No. 46 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $29\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$                    |
| 3               | 1200  | No. 33 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $15 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$                               |
| 4               | 1200  | No. 68 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) |
| 5               | 1225  | No. 40 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $11 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$                               |
| 6               | 1250  | No. 32 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}\frac{5}{8}$         |
| 7               | 1250  | No. 69 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                               |
| 8               | 1300  | No. 30 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                    |
| 9               | 1300  | No. 63 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) |
| 10              | 1325  | No. 20 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ ) |
| 11              | 1375  | No. 67 do.            | W. Ind. | Cor. | $14 \times 2$ ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ )                       |
| 12              | 1525  | No. 1062 Bhandarkar.  | S. Ind. | Cor. | $14 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$                               |
| 13*             | 1550  | Pal. Soc., No. LXX.   | S. Ind. | Bor. | $14 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ (B)                           |
| 14 <sup>7</sup> | 1550  | No. 1056, Bhandarkar. | S. Ind. | Cor. | $19 \times 2$                                          |
| 15*             | 1550  | No. 11894, Tanjore.   | S. Ind. | Bor. | $18\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ (B)                |
| 16              | 1580  | No. 10093 do.         | S. Ind. | Bor. | $16 \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)                          |
| 17              | 1600  | No. 1061, Bhandarkar. | S. Ind. | Cor. | $17\frac{1}{2} \times 2$                               |
| 18              | 1600  | No. 9075, Tanjore.    | S. Ind. | Bor. | $17 \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)                          |
| 19              | 1600  | No. 10511 do.         | S. Ind. | Bor. | $11\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)               |
| 20              | 1600  | No. 9997 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $18\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ (B)               |
| 21              | 1620  | No. 9140 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $18 \times 1$ (B)                                      |
| 22              | 1620  | No. 10288 do.         | S. Ind. | Bor. | $18\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ (B)                |
| 23              | 1625  | No. 10869 do.         | S. Ind. | Bor. | $15 \times 1$ (B)                                      |

7. The inner leaves of this manuscript are old. The outer ones, at the beginning and end, are larger ( $20\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ) and of a much more modern date (about 1700 A.D.). I examined the leaves numbered 1,105 and 260.

| No. | A.D. | Reference.            | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure.                                                   |
|-----|------|-----------------------|---------|------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 24  | 1650 | No. 1060, Bhandarkar. | S. Ind. | Cor. | $19\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$                        |
| 25  | 1650 | No. 9710, Tanjore.    | S. Ind. | Cor. | $13\frac{7}{8} \times 2$                                   |
| 26  | 1650 | No. 9908 do.          | S. Ind. | Cor. | $18\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$                        |
| 27  | 1650 | No. 9066 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $16 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ (B)                               |
| 28  | 1650 | No. 9185 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $15 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ (B)                               |
| 29  | 1650 | No. 9760 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $15\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ (B)                   |
| 30  | 1650 | No. 9076 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $15\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ (B)                    |
| 31* | 1670 | No. 9531 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $19\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ (B)                   |
| 32  | 1700 | No. 989, Bhandarkar.  | S. Ind. | Bor. | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                        |
| 33  | 1700 | No. 9169, Tanjore.    | S. Ind. | Cor. | $16 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ (B)                               |
| 34  | 1700 | No. 9605 do           | S. Ind. | Cor. | $12 \times 1\frac{1}{16}$                                  |
| 35  | 1700 | No. 9870 do.          | S. Ind. | Cor. | $14 \times 2$                                              |
| 36  | 1700 | No. 9960 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $15\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)                   |
| 37  | 1700 | No. 9935 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $16\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)                   |
| 38  | 1700 | No. 10910 do.         | S. Ind. | Bor. | $14\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$ (B)                   |
| 39  | 1720 | No. 8974 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $18\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ (B)                               |
| 40  | 1720 | No. 10868 do.         | S. Ind. | Bor. | $17\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ to $1\frac{1}{16}$ (B) |
| 41  | 1750 | No. 9098 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $14\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$ (B)                   |
| 42  | 1750 | No. 9739 do.          | S. Ind. | Bor. | $12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ (B)                   |
| 43  | 1750 | No. 10786 do.         | S. Ind. | Bor. | $16\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ (B)                    |

In the following remarks my arguments will be based entirely on the information furnished by Table I. The information of Table II will be used only as subsidiary and corroborative evidence.

Further, for the present, my remarks will be limited entirely to the conditions obtaining in Northern India, *i.e.*, broadly speaking North of the 20th degree of latitude. The case of Southern India will be considered later on.

The first point, very clearly brought out by Table I, is the exclusive use of *Corypha* leaves throughout Northern India, up to the latter part of the 17th century A.D. A very marked change begins with 1675 A.D. Before that date (with one exception, No. 60, which I shall

presently refer to) all dated manuscripts are uniformly written on Corypha leaves. From 1675 A.D. the use of the Borassus leaf almost entirely supersedes that of the Corypha leaf. Commencing with that year there are 18 manuscripts examined by me. Two of these are South-Indian which must be excluded. Of the remaining 16 manuscripts 12 are written on Borassus leaves, and only 4 on Corypha leaves; that is to say, 75 per cent. are Borassus manuscripts.

In order to appreciate the very effective character of the evidence of Table I, let it be noted that, between the years 1000 and 1770, there is a total of 77 decades, of which not less than 51 are represented in the Table by one or more manuscripts. The 14th and 17th centuries are the best represented, every decade appearing in the Table, except those beginning with 1320, 1620 and 1650. The 15th century is the worst represented, as the decades beginning with 1400, 1410, 1420, 1430, 1480 and 1490 are wanting. The effectiveness of the representation is corroborated by Table II, which, it may well be assumed, would have filled up many gaps in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, if the exact dates of the manuscripts listed in it were known. The effectiveness will be found still more corroborated by the exact dates given in Table III. With Tables I and III combined, there remain only 9 decades unrepresented; *viz.*, those beginning with 1040, 1100, 1140, 1150, 1430, 1480, 1650, 1710, and 1740, and some of these probably are covered by Table II.

There are only two manuscripts dating before 1675 A.D., which are written on Borassus leaves. These are Nos. 60 and 61, belonging to 1587 and 1594 A.D. respectively. No. 61 is written wholly on Borassus leaves; while No. 60 is only so partially: the body of it is written on Corypha leaves, while the end is on a Borassus leaf. These are exceptional cases: they only indicate, as I shall show further on, that the use of Borassus leaves first began in a sporadic form in Southern Bengal. But for Northern India generally, Table I shows that we may take the year 1675 A.D. as the epoch that marks the change from the use of Corypha to that of Borassus.

Before proceeding further, it may be as well at once to meet an objection that might suggest itself. It appears to be believed that Borassus leaves are much less durable than Corypha leaves. This may or may not be true: I have no special evidence on the subject. But Dr. Burnell in his *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.), p. 41, says: "It is hopeless to look for old specimens, as palm-leaf MSS. perish rapidly in the Tamil country, where they are mostly written on leaves of the '*Borassus flabelliformis*,' far inferior to the Talipat leaves in beauty and durability." So also Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyar, in Colombo informs me that "the Talipat leaf is preferred for the purpose



of book writing on account of its durability and polish." These observations may be true with regard to Southern India and Ceylon; they would probably also apply to Bengal and Orissa with their equally damp climate; but would hardly apply to the rest of Northern India with its far drier climate. But be that as it may, I have drawn up Table III for the purpose of showing how little probability there is that all Borassus MSS., dating before 1675 A.D., may have perished on account of their inferior durability, or that, by some unaccountable and improbable chance, none of them may have fallen into my hands when making up Table I.

TABLE III.

| No. | A. D. | Date.        | Reference.                       | Loc.    | Mat.   | Measure.                           |
|-----|-------|--------------|----------------------------------|---------|--------|------------------------------------|
| 1   | 1039  | Nep. 159.    | Add. 1683, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor.   | 21 × 2                             |
| 2   | 1054  | 14 Nayapāla. | Add. 1688 do.                    | Bih.    | Cor.   | 22 × 2                             |
| 3   | 1065  | Nep. 185.    | Add 1684 do.                     | Nep.    | Cor.   | 21 × 2                             |
| 4   | 1068  | Nep. 188.    | Add. 1680 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor.   | 11 × 2                             |
| 5   | 1098  | Sam. 1154.   | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 13.  | W. Ind. | (Cor.) | 73 × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$               |
| 6   | 1123  | Sam. 1179.   | Kielhorn, No. 42.                | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 13 × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$               |
| 7   | 1125  | Sam. 1181.   | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 229. | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 8   | 1125  | Sam. 1181.   | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 66.  | W. Ind. | (Cor.) | 12 × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$               |
| 9   | 1130  | Sam. 1186.   | do. No. 40.                      | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 10 × 1 $\frac{1}{2}$               |
| 10  | 1130  | Sam. 1186.   | do. No. 63.                      | W. Ind. | (Cor.) | 13 × 1                             |
| 11  | 1131  | Sam. 1187.   | do. No. 36.                      | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 27 × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$               |
| 12  | 1162  | Sam. 1218.   | do. No. 31.                      | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 14 × 2                             |
| 13  | 1162  | Sam. 1218.   | Kielhorn, No. 13.                | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 29 × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$               |
| 14  | 1165  | Nep. 285.    | Add. 1693, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor.   | 17 × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$               |
| 15  | 1165  | Sam. 1221.   | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 240. | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 27 × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$               |
| 16  | 1173  | Sam. 1229.   | do. No. 215.                     | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 17  | 1175  | Sam. 1231.   | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 1.   | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 12 × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$               |
| 18  | 1191  | Sam. 1247.   | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 225. | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 19  | 1193  | Sam. 1249.   | do. No. 309.                     | W. Ind. | Cor.   | 29 × 2 $\frac{3}{4}$               |

| No. | A. D. | Date.      | Reference.                       | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure. |
|-----|-------|------------|----------------------------------|---------|------|----------|
| 20  | 1199  | Nep. 319.  | Add. 1657, (2), Bendall.         | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 21  | 1202  | Sam. 1258. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 65.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 12 × 1½  |
| 22  | 1204  | Sam. 1260. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 189. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 15½ × 1¾ |
| 23  | 1205  | Sam. 1261. | do. No. 220.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 33½ × 2½ |
| 24  | 1205  | Nep. 325.  | Add. 1644, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | 21 × 2   |
| 25  | 1207  | Sam. 1263. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 198. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 10½ × 1½ |
| 26  | 1215  | Sam. 1271. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 80.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 16½ × 1½ |
| 27  | 1228  | Sam. 1284. | do. No. 78.                      | W. Ind. | Cor. | 11 × 2½  |
| 28  | 1228  | Sam. 1284. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 226. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 14 × 2½  |
| 29  | 1230  | Sam. 1286. | do. No. 288.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 34½ × 2¾ |
| 30  | 1231  | Sam. 1287. | do. No. 266.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 15¾ × 1½ |
| 31  | 1232  | Sam. 1288. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 55.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 15 × 2   |
| 32  | 1235  | Sam. 1291. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 320. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 36 × 2½  |
| 33  | 1236  | Sam. 1292. | do. No. 217.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 33½ × 2½ |
| 34  | 1236  | Sam. 1292. | do. No. 300.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 36 × 2½  |
| 35  | 1236  | Sam. 1292. | do. No. 277.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 15½ × 2  |
| 36  | 1237  | Sam. 1293. | do. No. 267.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 14½ × 1¾ |
| 37  | 1237  | Sam. 1293. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 46.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 12 × 1½  |
| 38  | 1238  | Sam. 1294. | do. No. 34.                      | W. Ind. | Cor. | 29 × 2½  |
| 39  | 1238  | Sam. 1294. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 186. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 14½ × 2  |
| 40  | 1238  | Sam. 1294. | do. No. 275.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 29½ × 2¾ |
| 41  | 1240  | Sam. 1296. | do. No. 202.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 12½ × 1½ |
| 42  | 1240  | Sam. 1296. | do. No. 250.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 34½ × 2  |
| 43  | 1240  | Sam. 1296. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 26.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 32 × 2½  |
| 44  | 1242  | Sam. 1298. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 319. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 34½ × 2½ |
| 45  | 1243  | Sam. 1299. | do. No. 276.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | 34 × 2½  |
| 46  | 1244  | Sam. 1300. | Kielhorn, No. 47.                | W. Ind. | Cor. | 18¼ × 2  |
| 47  | 1245  | Sam. 1301. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 219. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 33½ × 2½ |

| No. | A.D. | Date.      | Reference.                       | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure.                            |
|-----|------|------------|----------------------------------|---------|------|-------------------------------------|
| 48  | 1245 | Sam. 1301. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 337. | W. Ind. | Cor. | $32\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            |
| 49  | 1245 | Sam. 1301. | do. No. 247.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $34\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 50  | 1247 | Sam. 1303. | do. No. 286.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $15\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            |
| 51  | 1248 | Sam. 1304. | Kielhorn, No. 28.                | W. Ind. | Cor. | $15 \times 2$                       |
| 52  | 1251 | Sam. 1307. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 235. | W. Ind. | Cor. | $28\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 53  | 1253 | Sam. 1309. | do. No. 283.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $18 \times 2$                       |
| 54  | 1253 | Sam. 1309. | do. No. 310.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $32\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            |
| 55  | 1258 | Sam. 1314. | do. No. 222.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $23\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            |
| 56  | 1259 | Sam. 1315. | Kielhorn, No. 62.                | W. Ind. | Cor. | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            |
| 57  | 1261 | Nep. 381.  | Add. 1706, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | $11\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 58  | 1261 | Sam. 1317. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 8.   | W. Ind. | Cor. | $17 \times 2$                       |
| 59  | 1264 | Sam. 1320. | do. No. 59.                      | W. Ind. | Cor. | $33 \times 2$                       |
| 60  | 1264 | Nep. 384.  | Add. 1465, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | $13 \times 2$                       |
| 61  | 1266 | Sam. 1322. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 260. | W. Ind. | Cor. | $32\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 62  | 1269 | Sam. 1325. | do. No. 199.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $17\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 63  | 1270 | Sam. 1326. | do. No. 231.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $28\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 64  | 1271 | Sam. 1327. | do. No. 256.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $33\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 65  | 1272 | Sam. 1328. | do. No. 290.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $27 \times 2$                       |
| 66  | 1275 | Sam. 1331. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 35.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | $32 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$            |
| 67  | 1280 | Sam. 1336. | do. No. 32.                      | W. Ind. | Cor. | $15 \times 2$                       |
| 68  | 1286 | Sam. 1342. | Kielhorn, No. 5.                 | W. Ind. | Cor. | $32\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 69  | 1287 | Sam. 1343. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 27.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | $31\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            |
| 70  | 1302 | Nep. 422.  | Add. 1306, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | $13 \times 2$                       |
| 71  | 1303 | Sam. 1359. | Kielhorn, No. 37.                | W. Ind. | Cor. | $30\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 72  | 1320 | Sam. 1376. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 262. | W. Ind. | Cor. | $37\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 73  | 1324 | Sam. 1380. | do. No. 253.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $33 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$            |
| 74  | 1327 | Sam. 1383. | do. No. 285.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $19\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            |
| 75  | 1331 | Sam. 1387. | do. No. 259.                     | W. Ind. | Cor. | $35\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ |

| No. | A.D. | Date.      | Reference.                       | Loc.    | Mat. | Measure. |
|-----|------|------------|----------------------------------|---------|------|----------|
| 76  | 1334 | Sam. 1390. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 84.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 17 × 2½  |
| 77  | 1335 | Sam. 1391. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 295. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 35½ × 2¼ |
| 78  | 1336 | Sam. 1392. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 77.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 15 × 2   |
| 79  | 1342 | Sam. 1398. | do. No. 85.                      | W. Ind. | Cor. | 17 × 2   |
| 80  | 1355 | Nep. 475.  | Add. 1697, (viii),<br>Bendall.   | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 81  | 1360 | Nep. 480.  | Add. 1409, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | 13 × 2   |
| 82  | 1360 | Sam. 1416. | Notices, No. 3308.               | Beng.   | Cor. | 10 × 1½  |
| 83  | 1369 | Sam. 1425. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 58.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 32 × 3   |
| 84  | 1374 | Nep. 494.  | Add. 1689, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | 16 × 2   |
| 85  | 1380 | Nep. 500.  | Add. 1685 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor. | 13½ × 2  |
| 86  | 1384 | Nep. 504.  | Add. 1488 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor. | 9 × 2    |
| 87  | 1386 | Nep. 506.  | Add. 1698 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor. | 13 × 2   |
| 88  | 1389 | Nep. 509.  | Add. 1701 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 89  | 1389 | Sam. 1445. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 304. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 34½ × 1½ |
| 90  | 1392 | Nep. 512.  | Add. 1108, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | 13 × 2   |
| 91  | 1395 | Sam. 1451. | Peterson <sup>3</sup> , No. 223. | W. Ind. | Cor. | 14 × 1½  |
| 92  | 1398 | Sam. 1454. | Peterson <sup>5</sup> , No. 48.  | W. Ind. | Cor. | 33 × 2   |
| 93  | 1400 | Sam. 1456. | do. No. 28.                      | W. Ind. | Cor. | 25 × 1½  |
| 94  | 1412 | Nep. 532.  | Add. 1649, Bendall.              | Nep.    | Cor. | 12½ × 2  |
| 95  | 1412 | Nep. 532.  | Add. 1691 (iv), Bendall.         | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 96  | 1425 | Nep. 545.  | Add. 1661 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor. | 13 × 2   |
| 97  | 1427 | Nep. 547.  | Add. 1580 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor. | 10 × 2   |
| 98  | 1429 | Nep. 549.  | Add. 1703 do.                    | Nep.    | Cor. | 11½ × 2  |
| 99  | 1440 | Nep. 560.  | Add. 1691, (iii) do.             | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 100 | 1457 | Nep. 577.  | Add. 1708, (i) do.               | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 101 | 1460 | Laks. 355. | Notices, No. 1889.               | Bih.    | Cor. | 12 × 1½  |
| 102 | 1463 | Nep. 583.  | Add. 1697 (iv), Bendall.         | Nep.    | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 103 | 1468 | Laks. 363. | Notices, No. 1913.               | Bih.    | Cor. | 13 × 2   |

| No. | A.D.         | Date.                    | Reference.          | Loc.     | Mat. | Measure. |
|-----|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------|----------|------|----------|
| 104 | 1495         | Çak. 1417.               | Notices, No. 1974.  | Beng.    | Cor. | 10 × 2   |
| 105 | 1518         | Çak. 1440.               | do. No. 1070.       | Beng.    | Cor. | 14 × 2½  |
| 106 | 1526         | Lakş. 421.               | do. No. 1963.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 11 × 2   |
| 107 | 1529         | Lakş. 424.               | do. No. 2390.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 16 × 2   |
| 108 | 1535         | Çak. 1457.               | do. No. 1978.       | Beng.    | Cor. | 15 × 1¾  |
| 109 | 1536         | Lakş. 431.               | do. No. 1967.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 11 × 2   |
| 110 | 1540         | Lakş. 435.               | do. No. 1907.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 11 × 1½  |
| 111 | 1556         | Çak. 1478.               | do. No. 2129.       | Beng.    | Cor. | 10 × 2   |
| 112 | 1564         | Lakş. 459.               | do. No. 1909.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 12 × 1½  |
| 113 | 1571         | Çak. 1493.               | do. No. 2172.       | N. Beng. | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 114 | 1576         | Nep. 596.                | Add. 1355, Bendall. | Nep.     | Cor. | 9½ × 2   |
| 115 | 1607         | Lakş. 502.               | Notices, No. 1879.  | Bih.     | Cor. | 11 × 2   |
| 116 | 1609         | Lakş. 504.               | do. No. 1922.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 117 | 1617         | Lakş. 512.               | do. No. 2405.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 17 × 2   |
| 118 | 1618         | Çak. 1540.               | do. No. 2749.       | Beng.    | Bor. | 12 × 1½  |
| 119 | 1619         | Nep. 739.                | Add. 1662, Bendall. | Nep.     | Cor. | 12 × 2   |
| 120 | 1622         | Çak. 1544.               | Notices, No. 2252.  | Bih.     | Cor. | 14 × 2½  |
| 121 | 1624<br>1610 | Çak. 1546.<br>Lakş. 505. | do. No. 1992.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 11 × 2   |
| 122 | 1627         | Lakş. 522.               | do. No. 2364.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 14 × 1½  |
| 123 | 1629         | Çak. 1551.               | do. No. 3382.       | Beng.    | Cor. | 10 × 2   |
| 124 | 1629         | Çak. 1551.               | do. No. 2000.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 10 × 2   |
| 125 | 1643         | Lakş. 533.               | do. No. 2399.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 16 × 1½  |
| 126 | 1660         | Lakş. 555.               | do. No. 1910.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 14 × 2   |
| 127 | 1673         | Lakş. 568.               | do. No. 1968.       | Bih.     | Cor. | 12 × 1½  |
| 128 | 1678         | Çak. 1600.               | do. No. 2126.       | Beng.    | Bor. | 10 × 1½  |
| 129 | 1680         | Çak. 1602.               | do. No. 2759.       | Beng.    | Cor. | 18 × 2   |
| 130 | 1687         | Çak. 1609.               | do. No. 1645.       | W. Beng. | Bor. | 19 × 1½  |
| 131 | 1688         | Çak. 1610.               | do. No. 1642.       | W. Beng. | Bor. | 19 × 1½  |

| No.              | A.D. | Date.      | Reference.         | Loc.     | Mat. | Measure.     |
|------------------|------|------------|--------------------|----------|------|--------------|
| 132              | 1689 | Lakṣ. 584. | Notices, No. 1987. | Bih.     | Cor. | 12 × 2½      |
| 133              | 1701 | Çak. 1623. | do. No. 1643.      | W. Beng. | Bor. | 14 × 1½      |
| 134              | 1727 | Çak. 1649. | do. No. 2370.      | Bih.     | Cor. | 22 × 2       |
| 135              | 1732 | Çak. 1654. | do. No. 2917.      | W. Beng. | Cor. | 22 × 2       |
| 136              | 1734 | Çak. 1656. | do. No. 2965.      | W. Beng. | Bor. | 11 × 1½      |
| 137              | 1739 | Çak. 1661. | do. No. 1845.      | Bih.     | Cor. | 15½ × 2      |
| 138              | 1755 | Çak. 1677. | do. No. 2068.      | N. Beng. | Cor. | 40 × 2       |
| 139              | 1785 | Çak. 1707. | do. No. 2069.      | N. Beng. | Cor. | 19 × 2       |
| 140              | 1804 | Çak. 1726. | do. No. 1129.      | Beng.    | Bor. | 3 or 4 lines |
| 141 <sup>8</sup> | 1836 | Lakṣ. 731. | do. No. 1764.      | Bih.     | Bor. | 11 × 1       |

In Table III, I have included none but such palm-leaf MSS., of which exact dates and measurements have been recorded. On the other hand, I have included all manuscripts, satisfying those two conditions, records of which were accessible to me: in fact, Table III, so far as I know, practically includes all such palm-leaf MSS., of which any record exists at all. I do not think it likely that any appreciable number of dated and measured manuscripts have been omitted. Those entered in Table III belong to the collections, noticed in Bendall's Catalogue of Cambridge MSS., Dr. Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS., and Peterson's and Kielhorn's Reports on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency.<sup>9</sup>

As I have not actually seen and examined any of the manuscripts entered in Table III, the only test for determining their material are their measurements, especially those of their width. Now there are

<sup>8</sup> The description of this manuscript in the "Notices" is wrong. It is said to be dated "L. S. 431=A.D. 1537," but at the same time it is described as "fresh" in appearance. The fact is, the date which is in numeral words has been wrongly read. *Ambudhi* means "seven"; and the date is Lakṣ. 731=A.D. 1836. Unfortunately the manuscript is missing from the Calcutta collection; I have not been able to see it. I may here note that though in the older usage "ocean" signifies "four," in the more modern and in the present usage it means "seven." The *Çabda-kalpa-druma* gives both meanings.

<sup>9</sup> "Peterson<sup>8</sup>" and "Peterson<sup>5</sup>" in the References of Table III mean Professor Peterson's Third Report, 1884-86 (Extra Number in the Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society), and his Fifth Report, 1892-95, respectively. "Kielhorn" means Professor Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81.



in the list of Table III, 127 manuscripts, dating before 1675 A.D. Of these 127 manuscripts, 104 measure  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches or upwards in width. All these must be written on *Corypha* leaves; for I have already shown that no *Borassus* leaf admits of that width. Practically the same remark applies to No. 36, which measures  $1\frac{2}{3}$  inches. There remain 22 manuscripts, measuring less than  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in width. Of these, 18 have a width of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches.<sup>10</sup> There is very little probability of any of them being a *Corypha* manuscript: in fact, in the case of No. 57, the fact that it is written on *Corypha* leaves has been verified for me by Professor Cowell; and as to 6 others, *viz.*, Nos. 101, 110, 112, 122, 125 and 127, which are *Bihār* manuscripts, I shall show presently that in *Bihār* none but *Corypha* leaves were used down to a far more recent date than 1675 A.D. Of the remaining 4 manuscripts, No. 89, which is  $1\frac{1}{3}$  inches wide, cannot be *Borassus*, because of its length of  $34\frac{1}{2}$  inches; nor are Nos. 5, 8 and 10, which are  $1\frac{1}{4}$  and 1 inches wide respectively, likely to be *Borassus*, on account of their great age: that exceptionally *Corypha* manuscripts of such very small width are met with, I have already shown (see Nos. 35 and 55 in Table I, and No. 5 in Table II).

It thus appears that (with the exception of one manuscript, No. 118, presently to be referred to) all the manuscripts dating before 1675 A.D. are written on *Corypha* leaves,—a result which exactly agrees with that obtained from Table I. It is a striking fact that no dated and measured manuscript which can indubitably be proved to be written on *Borassus* leaves has as yet come to light, dating from before 1675 A.D., or at least (to be quite exact, with a view to the two exceptional cases of No. 60 in Table I, and No. 118 in Table III), dating from before the end of the 16th century. If *Borassus* manuscripts did exist, it is more than strange that not one of them should have been discovered: it is equally improbable that they—all and every one—should have perished. The only reasonable conclusion, from the facts presented, is that *Borassus* leaves were not used at all for book-writing in Northern India before the end of the 16th century, nor used generally before about 1675 A.D.

The exceptional case of No. 118 in Table III, dated 1618 A.D., is noteworthy. It stands, quite by itself among the surrounding *Corypha* manuscripts. For the next *Borassus* MS. we have to go down to No. 128, and the year 1678 A.D. It is also a South-Bengali manuscript. Its case agrees in every way with that of No. 60 in Table I, which has already been referred to. It must be added, however, that it is by no means certain that No. 118 is really a *Borassus* manuscript. Judged by

<sup>10</sup> These are Nos. 7, 9, 21, 25, 26, 30, 37, 41, 57, 82, 91, 93, 101, 110, 112, 122, 125, 127.

its measurements it might very well be a *Corypha* manuscript. But the probability perhaps is the other way, and I have accordingly treated it so.

This leads me to the next point. Table I shows that the use of *Borassus* leaves for book-writing was, and still is, limited to the Eastern portion of Northern India, *i.e.*, to Bengal, Bihār and Orissa. In the rest of Northern India (including Nepal, and "Western India" north of Bombay), *Borassus* has never been used for that purpose: there none but *Corypha* leaves were used at all; but as I shall show further on, the use of palm-leaves for book-writing died out there as early as the middle of the 15th century on the west-coast, and in the interior even some centuries earlier. At the time when the use of *Borassus* came in in the eastern provinces of Northern India, *viz.*, in the 17th century, the use of paper had in its central and western provinces long superseded that of palm-leaves.

Even with regard to Eastern India, a striking difference shows itself between the three provinces composing it. In Bengal the use of the *Borassus* leaf makes its first appearance in a sporadic way, at the end of the 16th century, and we find it fully established a century later, from about 1675 A.D. On the contrary, in Bihār the exclusive use of *Corypha* leaves continues down to the middle of the 18th century, while in Orissa *Corypha* leaves appear to have never been used at all.

To illustrate these conclusions I have prepared the following three Tables of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa palm-leaf manuscripts respectively.

TABLE IV. BENGAL PALM-LEAF MSS.

| No. | A. D. | Date.      | Reference.          | Measures.                           | Material. |
|-----|-------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1   | 1360  | Sam. 1416. | Table III, No. 82.  | $10 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 2   | 1386  | Sam. 1442. | Table I, No. 45.    | $11 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 3   | 1495  | Çak. 1417. | Table III, No. 104. | $10 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 4   | 1514  | Çak. 1436. | Table I, No. 53.    | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ | Cor.      |
| 5   | 1518  | Çak. 1440. | Table III, No. 105. | $14 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 6   | 1531  | Çak. 1453. | Table I, No. 54.    | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            | Cor.      |
| 7   | 1535  | Çak. 1457. | Table III, No. 108. | $15 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$            | Cor.      |
| 8   | 1553  | Çak. 1475. | Table I, No. 55.    | $1\frac{1}{4}$                      | Cor.      |
| 9   | 1556  | Çak. 1478. | Table III, No. 111. | $10 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 10  | 1571  | Çak. 1493. | do. No. 112.        | $12 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |

| No.              | A.D. | Date.      | Reference.          | Measure.                                                                              | Material.    |
|------------------|------|------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| 11               | 1572 | Çak. 1494. | Table I, No. 57.    | $13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                   | Cor.         |
| 12               | 1587 | Çak. 1509. | do. No. 60.         | $12 \times \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1\frac{7}{8} \\ 1\frac{1}{2} \end{array} \right.$ | Cor.<br>Bor. |
| 13               | 1594 | Çak. 1516. | do. No. 60.         | $12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 14               | 1618 | Çak. 1540. | Table III, No. 118. | $12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 15               | 1629 | Çak. 1551. | do. No. 122.        | $10 \times 2$                                                                         | Cor.         |
| 16               | 1675 | Çak. 1597. | Table I, No. 70.    | $1\frac{3}{8}$                                                                        | Bor.         |
| 17               | 1677 | Çak. 1599. | do. No. 71.         | $1\frac{1}{2}$                                                                        | Bor.         |
| 18               | 1678 | Çak. 1600. | Table III, No. 128. | $10 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 19               | 1678 | Çak. 1600. | Table I, No. 72.    | $15\frac{1}{4} \times 2$                                                              | Cor.         |
| 20               | 1680 | Çak. 1602. | Table III, No. 129. | $18 \times 2$                                                                         | Cor.         |
| 21               | 1687 | Çak. 1609. | do. No. 130.        | $19 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 22               | 1687 | Çak. 1609. | Table I, No. 76.    | $11 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 23               | 1688 | Çak. 1610. | do. No. 77.         | $20 \times 1\frac{1}{2}-1$                                                            | Bor.         |
| 24               | 1688 | Çak. 1610. | Table III, No. 131. | $19 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 25               | 1689 | Çak. 1611. | Table I, No. 78.    | $14 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 26               | 1701 | Çak. 1623. | Table III, No. 134. | $14 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 27               | 1721 | Çak. 1643. | Table I, No. 82.    | $2\frac{1}{4}$                                                                        | Cor.         |
| 28               | 1732 | Çak. 1654. | Table III, No. 136. | $22 \times 2$                                                                         | Cor.         |
| 29               | 1734 | Çak. 1656. | do. No. 137.        | $11 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$                                                              | Bor.         |
| 30 <sup>11</sup> | 1755 | Çak. 1677. | do. No. 138.        | $40 \times 2$                                                                         | Cor.         |
| 31               | 1785 | Çak. 1707. | do. No. 139.        | $19 \times 2$                                                                         | Cor.         |
| 32               | 1804 | Çak. 1726. | do. No. 140.        | 3 or 4 ll., $1\frac{1}{4}$                                                            | Bor.         |
| 33               | 1815 | Çak. 1737. | Table I, No. 87.    | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}-1$                                                 | Bor.         |

It will be seen from Table IV, that up to 1587 A.D. *Corypha* leaves were in exclusive use in Bengal. In that year the first trace of the use of *Borassus* leaves makes its appearance. In 1594 there is the

<sup>11</sup> It will be noticed that the length of this manuscript (40 inches) is out of all proportion to that of all other Bengal manuscripts. I am, therefore, disposed to suspect a misprint in its record in "Notices," No. 2068.

first manuscript wholly written on *Borassus* leaves; another follows in 1618 A.D. Then comes a long interval of 57 years, up to 1675 A.D., in which there is one *Corypha* manuscript, in 1629 A.D. But from 1675, when there are numerous manuscripts recorded at very short intervals, the use of *Borassus* shows itself dominant. Among 18 manuscripts, between 1675 and 1815 A.D., there are 12 *Borassus* and only 6 *Corypha* ones; that is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the whole are *Borassus* manuscripts.

The oldest known Bengal palm-leaf manuscript is referable to the year 1360 A.D. Another described in "Notices," No. 1977, was thought by the late Rāja R. L. Mitra to be older, being supposed to be dated in Lakṣ. 102=1207 A.D. It is a *Corypha* MS., measuring  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ , and is certainly very old, but its date, if any, is not decipherable, and on palæographic grounds it is more likely to belong to the end of the 14th century.

TABLE V. BIHĀR PALM-LEAF MSS.

| No. | A. D. | Date.          | Reference.          | Measure.                             | Material. |
|-----|-------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1   | 1020  | 5 Mahipāla.    | Table I, No. 8.     | $21 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$             | Cor.      |
| 2   | 1054  | 14 Nayapāla.   | Table III, No. 2.   | $22 \times 2$                        | Cor.      |
| 3   | 1120  | 15 Rāmapāla.   | Table I, No. 16.    | $22 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$             | Cor.      |
| 4   | 1165  | 4 Gōvindapāla. | do. No. 21.         | $22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  | Cor.      |
| 5   | 1185  | 24 do.         | do. No. 25.         | $11\frac{3}{4} \times 2$             | Cor.      |
| 6   | 1199  | 38 do.         | do. No. 27.         | $11\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$  | Cor.      |
| 7   | 1319  | Lakṣ. 214.     | do. No. 37.         | $15\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$  | Cor.      |
| 8   | 1446  | Sam. 1503.     | do. No. 47.         | $13\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  | Cor.      |
| 9   | 1450  | Lakṣ. 345.     | do. No. 48.         | $13 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$             | Cor.      |
| 10  | 1460  | Lakṣ. 355.     | Table III, No. 101. | $12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$             | Cor.      |
| 11  | 1467  | Lakṣ. 362.     | Table I, No. 49.    | $13 \times 2$                        | Cor.      |
| 12  | 1468  | Lakṣ. 363.     | Table III, No. 103. | $13 \times 2$                        | Cor.      |
| 13  | 1479  | Lakṣ. 374.     | Table I, No. 50.    | $11\frac{1}{2} \times 2$             | Cor.      |
| 14  | 1504  | Lakṣ. 399.     | do. No. 51.         | $14\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  | Cor.      |
| 15  | 1513  | Lakṣ. 408.     | do. No. 52.         | $13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ | Cor.      |
| 16  | 1526  | Lakṣ. 421.     | Table III, No. 106. | $11 \times 2$                        | Cor.      |
| 17  | 1529  | Lakṣ. 424.     | do. No. 107.        | $16 \times 2$                        | Cor.      |

| No. | A.D.                | Date.                                       | Reference.          | Measure.                            | Material. |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| 18  | 1536                | Lakş. 431.                                  | Table III, No. 109. | $11 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 19  | 1540                | Lakş. 435.                                  | do. No. 110.        | $11 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 20  | 1557                | Lakş. 452.                                  | Table I, No. 56.    | $13\frac{1}{8} \times 2$            | Cor.      |
| 21  | 1564                | Lakş. 459.                                  | Table III, No. 112. | $12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 22  | 1575                | Lakş. 470.                                  | Table I, No. 58.    | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ | Cor.      |
| 23  | 1607                | Lakş. 502.                                  | Table III, No. 115. | $11 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 24  | 1608                | Lakş. 503.                                  | Table I, No. 62.    | $13\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ | Cor.      |
| 25  | 1609                | Lakş. 504.                                  | do. No. 63.         | $13\frac{3}{4} \times 2$            | Cor.      |
| 26  | 1609                | Lakş. 504.                                  | Table III, No. 116. | $12 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 27  | 1616                | Lakş. 511.                                  | Table I, No. 64.    | $14\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ | Cor.      |
| 28  | 1617                | Lakş. 512.                                  | Table III, No. 117. | $17 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 29  | 1622                | Çak. 1544.                                  | do. No. 120.        | $14 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 30  | $\frac{1624}{1610}$ | $\frac{\text{Çak. 1546}}{\text{Lakş. 505}}$ | do. No. 121.        | $11 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 31  | 1627                | Lakş. 522.                                  | do. No. 122.        | $14 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 32  | 1629                | Çak. 1551.                                  | do. No. 124.        | $10 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 33  | 1633                | Çak. 1555.                                  | Table I, No. 65.    | $12 \times 1\frac{7}{8}$            | Cor.      |
| 34  | 1643                | Lakş. 538.                                  | Table III, No. 125. | $16 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 35  | 1647                | Çak. 1569.                                  | Table I, No. 66.    | $11\frac{1}{4} \times 2$            | Cor.      |
| 36  | 1660                | Lakş. 555.                                  | Table III, No. 126. | $14 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 37  | 1661                | Lakş. 556.                                  | Table I, No. 67.    | $12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ | Cor.      |
| 38  | 1668                | Çak. 1590.                                  | do. No. 68.         | $7\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  | Cor.      |
| 39  | $\frac{1669}{1660}$ | $\frac{\text{Çak. 1591}}{\text{Lakş. 555}}$ | do. No. 69.         | $7 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$             | Cor.      |
| 40  | 1673                | Lakş. 568.                                  | Table III, No. 127. | $12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 41  | 1680                | Çak. 1602.                                  | Table I, No. 73.    | $14 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$            | Cor.      |
| 42  | 1689                | Lakş. 584.                                  | Table III, No. 132. | $12 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$            | Cor.      |
| 43  | 1727                | Çak. 1649.                                  | do. No. 134.        | $22 \times 2$                       | Cor.      |
| 44  | 1739                | Çak. 1661.                                  | do. No. 137.        | $15\frac{1}{2} \times 2$            | Cor.      |
| 45  | 1836                | Lakş. 731.                                  | do. No. 141.        | $11 \times 1$                       | Bor.      |

Among the 45 manuscripts listed in this Table, there are 35 which, as their width shows, are undoubtedly written on *Corypha* leaves. There are only eight MSS. (Nos. 9, 10, 19, 21, 31, 34, 37 and 40) which, by their width of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, might be written on *Borassus* leaves. But their age, as well as their isolated position among *Corypha* manuscripts, renders it certain that they are also *Corypha* manuscripts. Indeed, as a matter of fact, Nos. 9 and 37, which I have myself inspected, are *Corypha* manuscripts. I may add that down to 1739 A.D. (No. 44) I have not found, among all the Bihār MSS. that I have examined and measured, a single manuscript written on *Borassus* leaves. So far, therefore, as evidence, at present available, goes, it points to the fact that, **down to the middle of the 18th century, *Corypha* leaves were in exclusive use in Bihar for book-writing.** About that time, perhaps, the use of *Borassus* leaves may have been introduced from Bengal; for No. 45, of 1836 A.D., is evidently a *Borassus* manuscript. Any how, in the present day, as I learn from special enquiries made by me, both kinds of palm-leaf are in use in Bihār, though, for book-writing at least, paper has nearly entirely superseded palm-leaf, so that it is very difficult now-a-days to obtain a quite modern palm-leaf manuscript. In fact, in spite of persistent endeavours, I have failed to obtain for personal inspection a single Bihār palm-leaf manuscript of the 18th and 19th centuries. This remark, regarding the supercession of palm-leaf by paper, also applies to Bengal, but not to Orissa.

With regard to Orissa I am in a somewhat unsatisfactory position. Palm-leaf manuscripts, written in Oriya, are very uncommon in Calcutta, and the majority of those one meets with are not dated. Moreover the few manuscripts which bear some date are not dated in any era, but merely in the regnal years of certain kings. I have been able to examine the following seven manuscripts:—

TABLE VI.<sup>12</sup> ORISSA PALM-LEAF MSS.

| No. | A.D.    | Date.                   | Reference.              | Measures.                            | Mat. |
|-----|---------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|
| 1   | 1660-92 | Some year of Mukunda    | Govt. Ind.              | $1\frac{5}{16}$                      | Bor. |
| 2   | 1683    | 24th do. ...            | do.                     | $15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$             | Bor. |
| 3   | 1683    | 24th do. ...            | do.                     | $1\frac{1}{4}$                       | Bor. |
| 4   | 1690    | 31st do. ...            | No. 2837<br>in Notices. | $16 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$             | Bor. |
| 5   | 1708    | 17th of Divya Simha ... | Govt. Ind.              | $14\frac{9}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ | Bor. |
| 6   | 1752    | 10th of Kēçari ...      | do.                     | $14\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$  | Bor. |
| 7   | 1766    | 24th of do. ...         | do.                     | $15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$             | Bor. |

<sup>12</sup> On the chronology of the kings of Orissa, see Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 267 (in Vol. II of his *Indian Antiquities*, ed. Thomas), also Hunter's *Orissa* and J. i. 16



I have also examined seven other manuscripts which are undated. Their width varied from 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and their number of lines from 3 to 6. They were made of *Borassus flab.* Their general appearance indicates them as being of the same period as the dated ones.

I have not met with any Oriya palm-leaf manuscript of an earlier date than the 24th year of Mukunda Dēva, or A.D. 1683, though No. 1 may go back to 1660. So far as this evidence goes, it shows that Oriya palm-leaf manuscripts are not older than the second half of the 17th century, and are invariably written on *Borassus* leaves. The evidence, however, is not complete. It seems to be certain that the Oriyā characters were not employed in Orissa before the 15th century A.D. The earliest epigraphical record in Oriyā characters is an inscription, dated 1436 A.D., of Kapilēṣvara Dēva. The earlier inscriptions of the 13th and 14th centuries are in a species of early Bengali characters.<sup>13</sup> It is not impossible therefore, that manuscripts may have been written in Oriyā characters as early as the 15th century A.D. Possibly among the undated manuscripts some may go back to such an early date; and it is also possible that dated manuscripts of that early period may yet come to light. In the latter case it is probable that they will be found to be *Borassus* manuscripts; for hitherto not a single manuscript written in Oriyā characters is known to exist which is written on *Corypha* leaves. At present, however, there is a gap of 200 or 250 years (about 1436–1660 A.D.) in the evidence. On the whole, the probability is that the case of Orissa is much the same as that of Bengal. If *Corypha* leaves were ever used in Orissa at all, their use must have gone out of fashion, as it did in Bengal, in the course of the 16th century. At present, **the available evidence**

elsewhere. The exact periods of the several reigns are only approximately known. There were three Mukundas and two Divya Simhas. The former reigned 17, 32, and 19 years respectively; accordingly it must be Mukunda II who is referred to in Table VI, and who reigned, approximately, from 1660 to 1692 A.D. The two Divya Simhas reigned 28 and 18 years respectively; probably it is Divya Simha I who is here intended, and who reigned from 1692–1720 A.D. Kēçari Dēva (in Prinsep, *Bir Kishore Deo*) reigned from 1743–1780 A.D. In the manuscripts the reigns of these kings are quoted in *aṅkas*. On the method of converting these *aṅkas* into regnal years, see Bābū Mon Mohan Chakravarti's explanation in *Journal, A.S.B.* vol. LXII, (1893), p. 89. The number *one* and all numbers ending with zero (except 10) or with 6 are omitted. Hence the 29th *aṅka* of Mukunda is equal to his 24th year; i.e., 5 *aṅkas* (1, 6, 16, 20, 26) are omitted; and so forth. The *aṅkas* of Table VI are: 38 (No. 4), 29 (Nos. 2, 3 and 7), 21 (No. 5), 12 (No. 6). No. 1 simply refers to the reign of Mukunda.

<sup>13</sup> See *Journal, A.S.B.* Vol. LXII (1893), p. 88, 89. Also *ibidem*, Vol. LXIV (1895) and Vol. LXV (1896).

is dead against the use of *Corypha* leaves in Orissa. Not a single *Corypha* manuscript in Oriyā characters has as yet been discovered.

Let us now turn to Western India. Here we have the careful catalogues prepared by Professors Kielhorn, Peterson and Bhandarkar. In his Report for 1880-81, Prof. Kielhorn describes 77 palm-leaf MSS. from Pātān. Prof. Peterson in his 3rd Report for 1885-86, describes 157 palm-leaf MSS. from Cambay (Nos. 181-338), and in his 5th Report for 1892-95 he describes 93 palm-leaf MSS. from Pātān. Measurements, however, are only given of 69, 147 and 62 manuscripts respectively of the three sets. The total of measured manuscripts accordingly is 278. Among these there are :

|                                                    |     |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| (1) MSS. measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches and more, | 230 |
| (2) MSS. „ $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches                   | 38  |
| (3) MSS. „ less than $1\frac{1}{2}$                | 10  |

This statement includes both kinds of manuscripts, undated as well as dated ones, and, therefore, supplements the information given in Table III.

The first-placed manuscripts, of course, as shown by their width, must be *Corypha* ones; so also, are in all probability, the 38 manuscripts of the width of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. More doubtful might seem the case of those ten which measure less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Among these there are 8 manuscripts which are said to measure only  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ,  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and two manuscripts which are said even to be only one inch wide.<sup>14</sup> Four of these 10 manuscripts, being dated, will be found included in Table III; viz., Nos. 10 (1" wide), 5 and 8 ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ "), and 89 ( $1\frac{1}{3}$ "); and in connection with that Table it has been shown what little probability there is that any of these 10 manuscripts should be *Borassus* ones. As a matter of fact (I may add here), I have found by ocular examination of Kielhorn's No. 34 (or No. 35 in Table I) that among its leaves there are some which are only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide, but which still are *Corypha* leaves: which circumstance shows that extreme narrowness of the leaves need not preclude their being *Corypha*. It may, therefore, be taken for certain that in Western India none but *Corypha* leaves were ever used for book-writing.

We will now turn to the paper manuscripts. For Eastern India (Bengal, Behar and Orissa) the "Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts" afford a fair statistical text. I have classified all the dated paper MSS. which are enumerated in volumes I to X, according to centuries, down to 1850, in the subjoined Table VII, in which I have added similar information,

<sup>14</sup> These are Peterson<sup>5</sup> Nos. 7, 63 (both one inch), Peterson<sup>5</sup> No. 13, Kielhorn No. 40, Peterson<sup>5</sup> Nos. 50, 66 (all four,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ "); Peterson<sup>3</sup> Nos. 304, 305, 308 (all,  $1\frac{1}{3}$ "); Peterson<sup>3</sup> No. 216 ( $1\frac{1}{3}$ ").

for Western India, gathered from the Reports of Professors Bhandarkar, Kielhorn and Peterson.<sup>15</sup> For my present statistical purpose these Reports, unfortunately, are not so well fitted as the "Notices;" still such as they are, their evidence distinctly tends in the same direction. A considerable portion of the manuscripts described in the "Notices" belong to the North-West Provinces and Oudh, which form the central portion of Northern India. Accordingly the column for the "Notices" is divided into East and Centre.

TABLE VII.

| PERIODS.        | NOTICES.   |        |         | BHAN-DARKAR. |        | KIELHORN.  |        | PETERSON.  |        |
|-----------------|------------|--------|---------|--------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|
|                 | East.      |        | Centre. | West.        |        |            |        |            |        |
|                 | Palm-leaf. | Paper. | Paper.  | Palm-leaf.   | Paper. | Palm-leaf. | Paper. | Palm-leaf. | Paper. |
| (1) 1050-1150   |            |        |         | 7            |        | 6          |        | 14         |        |
| (2) 1150-1250   |            |        | 1       | 14           |        | 5          |        | 68         |        |
| (3) 1250-1350   |            |        | 1       | 13           | 1      | 6          |        | 46         |        |
| (4) } 1350-1400 | 2          | 1      | 1       | 3            | 2      |            | 2      | 4          | 10     |
| (5) } 1400-1450 |            | 1      | 4       |              | 5      | 2          | 9      | 1          | 27     |
| (6) 1450-1550   | 12         | 7      | 8       |              | 20     |            | 47     |            | 61     |
| (7) 1550-1650   | 16         | 14     | 40      |              | 61     |            | 53     |            | 162    |
| (8) 1650-1750   | 18         | 56     | 70      |              | 93     |            | 65     |            | 240    |
| (9) 1750-1850   | 5          | 107    | 201     |              | 96     |            | 48     |            | 369    |

The general drift of this evidence is to show that from the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries paper began to

<sup>15</sup> These are Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83; Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81, containing also a list of the collection in 1873-74; Peterson's Second Report for 1882-83 (being an Extra Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1883); his Third Report for 1884-86 (being another Extra Number for 1887); his Fifth Report, for 1892-95, and his Sixth Report, for 1895-98.

supersede palm-leaf as a material for writing books. The drop in the number of palm-leaf manuscripts between the third and fourth periods is very noticeable; and from the fourth period onwards there is a steady and marked rise in the number of paper manuscripts.

In Western India the supersession of palm-leaf was far more thorough than in Eastern India. **About the middle of the 15th century,—so far as the evidence at present available goes,—the use of palm-leaf entirely ceases in Western India.** The three latest palm-leaf manuscripts are dated, one in A.D. 1449 (Sam. 1505), and two in A.D. 1400 (Sam. 1456): see Kielhorn's Report, p. v, and Peterson's Fifth Report, p. 51. During the same period (1400–1449) we have 41 paper manuscripts. The earliest paper manuscript is dated A.D. 1320 (Sam. 1376): see Bhandarkar's Report, p. 51. Then follow 14 paper manuscripts, dated between A.D. 1360 and 1395. This total cessation of the use of palm-leaf at this period is nothing new: it has already been pointed out by Professor Bhandarkar in his Report, pp. 51 and 52.

**In Eastern India the use of palm-leaf continued more or less by the side of paper.** The Table shows a steady and marked rise in the number of paper manuscripts, while the number of palm-leaf manuscripts remains practically stationary, ending with a marked drop in the last period. This, of course, really implies a steady decrease in the use of palm-leaf, ending with a practically total cessation, in the present day.<sup>16</sup> In Orissa alone its use continuous to some extent. The two latest recorded palm-leaf manuscripts (both not on *Corypha*, but *Borassus* leaves) are dated A.D. 1815 (Çaka 1737; "Notices," No. 1607, Table I, No. 87) and A.D. 1836 (Lakṣ. 731, "Notices," No. 1764, Table III, No. 141). The earliest paper manuscript is dated A.D. 1354 (Sam. 1410), and is a Behar (Maithili) manuscript, No. 1999 in the "Notices." The oldest Bengal paper manuscript is dated A.D. 1404 (Çaka 1326), being No. 2082 in the "Notices." These are two exceptional cases: **the real use of paper in Eastern India only commences about A.D. 1450, that is about one century later than in Western India.**

But the earliest paper manuscript of all, examined by me, is one in the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. It is No. 582 in Volume I of its Library Catalogue, and is dated A.D. 1231 (Sam. 1288).<sup>17</sup> The oldest

<sup>16</sup> Exceptionally, and for a very limited class of certain religious books, palm-leaf is said to be still used in Bengal.

<sup>17</sup> The Calcutta Sanskrit College, in its Library Catalogue, professes to possess extraordinarily old paper manuscripts. No. 553 in Vol. I is said to be dated in 1017 A.D. or Sam. 1073; No. 371 in 1059 A.D. or Sam. 1115, No. 122 in Vol. II. in 1178 A.D. or Sam. 1234; No. 582 in Vol. I. in 1212 A.D. or Sam.

paper manuscript<sup>1</sup> of all, mentioned in the "Notices" is No. 2043. It is dated A.D. 1343 (Sam. 1399), and has no string-hole, but in its place a small read disk, about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " diameter. These two earliest paper manuscripts are shown in Table VII in the column for "Notices," under the heading "Centre." They are both written in a distinctly Western type of Nāgarī, and must have been written somewhere in the North-West Provinces: they do not properly belong to Eastern India. Under the heading "Centre" are entered paper manuscripts written in Nāgarī (not in Bengali, neither in Maitihili) characters. All these properly belong to the North-West Provinces or Oudh, *i.e.*, to the Central part of Northern India. It may be noticed that no palm-leaf manuscripts are recorded for this part of Northern India. This is a noteworthy fact, to which reference will be made subsequently.

To sum up the result of my enquiries into the use of palm-leaf as writing material, it appears that—

(1) Originally none but leaves of the *Corypha umbr.* palm were used throughout India. This state continued down to the 15th century.

(2) From the middle of the 15th century their use was discontinued in Western India, no other kind of palm-leaf replacing them.

(3) From the beginning of the 17th century they ceased to be used in Bengal and probably Orissa, the leaves of the *Borassus fl.* taking their place.

(4) In Behar their exclusive use continued down to the middle of the 18th century.

(5) The use of the *Borassus flab.* is comparatively modern, and it is, and was, nowhere current in Northern India, outside Bengal and Orissa.

(6) Paper began to come into use, in the Centre of Northern India, in Western India and in Eastern India about the middle respectively of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.

(7) In the Centre and West it entirely superseded, in the 15th century, the writing-material previously in use, that is, palm-leaf in the West and perhaps birch-bark in the Centre. In the East it maintained a finally successful rivalry until comparatively recent times.

1268; No. 529 in A.D. 1320 or Sam. 1376. I have examined all these manuscripts. They are all written in Nāgarī, and are North-Western manuscripts (not Bengali). No. 553 is as modern a manuscript as one can wish, and is dated Sam. 1873, or A.D. 1817! No. 371 is dated Sam. 1715 or A.D. 1659. No. 122 is dated Sam (*i.e.*, Bengali year, not Samvat) 1234, equal to A.D. 1826. No. 582 is doubly dated in Sam. 1288 (not 1268 as the Catalogue reads), and Çaka 1152, which is A.D. 1231 (*viz.*, 1288—57 and 1152+79); this is the only really old paper manuscript. No. 529 is not dated at all, the compiler of the Catalogue having mistaken some blurred Nāgarī akṣaras for numeral figures.



The *Corypha umbraculifera* being a South-Indian tree, it is clear that its leaves, prepared to serve as writing material, must have formed an article of trade from very early times, and been carried as merchandise over the whole of Northern India. The customers of it, of course, were almost wholly limited to the literary classes, who wrote and copied books, *i.e.*, to the learned in schools and monasteries, etc. Paper came in with the Muhammadans, in the 11th century. It only very slowly and gradually displaced the *Corypha* palm-leaf, the use of which had the sanction of age and religion among the conservative Indian literates: they looked with distrust upon the product of the Mlecchas. The paper-makers are still, as a rule, Muhammadans; and there exists no indigenous Sanskrit term for paper, the word universally used being *kāgaḥ* or *kāgaḍ*.<sup>13</sup> With the 14th century, paper began to grow more widely into favour, and the import trade of *Corypha* leaves proportionately declined. With the beginning of the 17th century we find that paper has displaced the *Corypha* leaves throughout Northern India excepting Behar, and the trade with it had practically ceased. Palm-leaves were still occasionally wanted; and thus it came to pass (so it seems) that the people of Bengal and Orissa took to the use of the *Borassus flabellifer* which grew plentifully in their own country, because they could no more readily obtain suitable *Corypha* leaves in sufficient quantities. It is curious to observe that the literati of Behar were the most conservative in the retention of the use of the *Corypha* leaves; for their latest *Corypha* MS. is dated A.D. 1739 (No. 44 in Table V).

It would seem that the use of the leaves of the *Borassus* palm was introduced into Eastern India from the South. For its use in Southern India can be traced to a much earlier period. As Table II shows, the earliest recorded *Borassus* manuscript in Southern India may be referred to about 1550 A.D., and since that time *Borassus* is generally, though not exclusively, made use of, in Southern India, for book writing; *Corypha* also being used occasionally. The case of Southern India, however, I have not been able to thoroughly investigate. In Ceylon the use of *Corypha* leaves appears to be still predominant; in fact, for book writing, I am informed, it is still in exclusive use. The cause or causes that led to the *Borassus* growing into favour, and more or less displacing the time-honoured *Corypha* are obscure. It

<sup>13</sup> This is a Hindū corruption of the Persian *kāghaz* (کاغذ), which itself is a corruption of the Chinese *kog-dz*, the name of their "paper made of the bark of the paper-mulberry tree." When the Arabs, in the 8th century, learned paper-making from the Chinese, they adopted the Chinese name for their own paper made of linen rags. See Professor Fr. Hirth's *Indische Studien*, p. 263, and Professor Karabaček's *Führer durch die Ausstellung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*.



would be interesting to know them, and they would be worth investigation. Perhaps it may be found that the Borassus palm was introduced into India only at a comparatively recent period, and being a more useful tree than the Corypha, it was more frequently cultivated, and more extensively employed. Of the Borassus palm almost everything can be used: its fruits and buds are edible, its juice is made into liquor, its leaves can be used for domestic and literary purposes, its trunks are shaped into boats; and so forth. Of the Corypha palm neither the fruit is edible nor the juice potable. Being a far more useful tree, the Borassus would naturally soon become a greater favorite even with respect to such a matter as the leaves for writing purposes in which it is perhaps hardly superior to the Corypha. But it is difficult to suppose that the employment of the Borassus leaves as a material for writing can be separated by any long interval from the introduction of the Borassus palm into India. The tree could not well have existed long in India without its useful properties being discovered. If the use of its leaves for writing grew up in the 15th or 16th centuries, its introduction can hardly be placed much earlier than the 14th century.

There is a notice in Hiuen Tsiang's Travels (Beal, vol. ii, p. 255) of the existence of "a forest of Tāla trees" near Konkanapura in South-India. The exact site of that place is still a matter of dispute (see *Indian Antiquary*, XII, p. 115, XXIII, p. 28); but it must be somewhere in the Concan, which is the limit to which the Corypha umbr. grows freely in *cultivation* (though not *wild*). The pointed notice of the "forest of Talipat palms" is curious. It must have been a particular feature of that place, and must have been shown to Hiuen Tsiang as such. In the forest there was a Stūpa; and Hiuen Tsiang adds that "in all the countries of India the leaves of the Talipat palm are everywhere used for writing on." Here we seem to have a clear instance of a plantation of Corypha palms, on a large scale, for the purpose of growing leaves for inland use or for export. Writing was mainly carried on in Buddhist and other monasteries, and probably there were Corypha plantations connected with most of the larger monastic establishments in South India; only the Konkanapura plantation would seem to have been one on a particularly large scale.

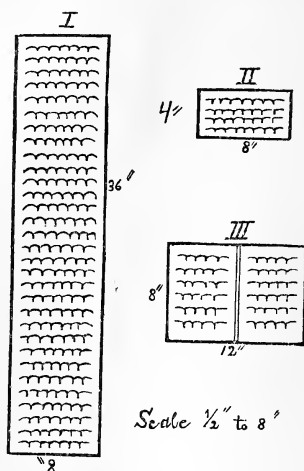
There is a puzzling notice in Alberuni (Sachau, vol. i, p. 171). He says: "The Hindus have in the South of their country a slender tree like the date and cocoanut palms, bearing edible fruits, and leaves of the length of one yard, and as broad as three fingers, one put beside the other. They call these leaves *tārī*, and write on them. They bind a book of these leaves together by a cord on which they are arranged, the cord going through all the leaves by a hole in the middle of each."

This description, with the exception of the remark about the edible fruit, only fits the *Corypha* palm. At the time of Alberuni (973–1043 A.D.) the *Borassus* palm, in all probability, did not exist in India. In any case, at his time its leaves were not used anywhere in India for writing books. He says the leaves measured one yard in length, and three fingers in breadth: that gives us a leaf measuring  $36 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, which, as I have shown, are nearly the maximum measurements of a *Corypha* leaf, but impossible for a *Borassus* leaf.<sup>19</sup> He also says that the leaves are called *tārī*. At the present day, the term *tārī* (ताड़ी) is used to denote palm-wine or “toddy,” which, of course, is made from the juice of the *Borassus* palm. I am not aware that the term is used anywhere for the prepared leaves of either the *Corypha* or the *Borassus*. These are called *Tālpāt* or *Tālīpāt*, and that term is applied to the *Corypha* palm in South India, and has been adopted into the Botanical terminology. In Alberuni’s use of the term *tārī* for the leaves, there appears to be some misunderstanding. But a greater difficulty is his remark about the edible fruits, as Alberuni is generally a careful observer and reporter. Personally he can have had no acquaintance with the tree, as neither the *Corypha* nor the *Borassus* grows in the localities where he lived: he can only have reported what he was told. But as the *Borassus* palm is out of the question, he must either have made a slip, or the text of his work is handed down incorrectly. As immediately before he had mentioned a point of resemblance to the date and cocoanut palms, he probably now wanted to point out a point of difference, that the *Corypha* palm bore no edible fruits; he probably meant to say “a tree, slender like the date and cocoanut palms, but bearing no edible fruits.”

Alberuni proceeds to say: “In Central and Northern India people use the bark of the *tūz* tree. It is called *bhūrja*. They take a piece one yard long and as broad as the outstretched fingers of the hand, or somewhat less (about 8 inches) and prepare it in various ways. They oil and polish it so as to make it hard and smooth, and then they write on it. Their letters, and whatever else they have to write, they write on the bark of the *tūz* tree.” There can be no doubt that Alberuni is describing the bark of *Betula utilis*. Where he lived, the tree was probably a well-known object to him. The measurements of the strips of bark given by him are borne out by the Kharōṣṭhī birch-bark

<sup>19</sup> In the quoted passage it seems as if Alberuni were speaking of the size of the natural leaves of the palm. Obviously this is not correct; for the size of the segment of the natural leaf of either palm, whether *Corypha* or *Borassus*, is much greater. Possibly the translation may be at fault. Anyhow, Alberuni is speaking of the size of the prepared leaf.

manuscript of which portions are preserved in Paris and St. Petersburg,



and which may be as old as the 1st century A.D. The strips of bark on which this manuscript is written, measure about 8 inches (or 20 centimeter) in width and one yard, more or less, in length<sup>20</sup> (Woodcut, fig. 1). This seems to show that anciently the strips of bark were used in their full size, perhaps in the form of rolls, like Greek manuscripts of papyrus. Or their length was cut up into smaller pieces, of about 4 inches each. Such is the Bakhshālī MS., which measures about 7 by 4 inches. The latter probably belongs to the 10th or 11th century, *i.e.*, about the time when Alberuni lived; and

he may have been thinking of manuscripts of this kind, when he wrote his observations. The writing was made to run parallel with the narrow side of the original strip, as seen in the published plates of the Paris and St. Petersburg MS. This custom was retained, even when the strips were cut up into smaller pieces, as in the Bakhshālī MS. (Woodcut, fig. 2). The latter approaches, in its general form, the typical Indian palm-leaf *pothī*. It consists of a large number of separate oblong leaves, with the writing running parallel with the longer side of the leaf; only the oblong is not so decidedly elongated as in the palm-leaf, and the string-holes are wanting. Still later, after Alberuni's time, the modern book form appears to have been introduced. The strips of bark, cut into smaller pieces of about 12 inches, were folded in the middle, making up a "form" of two leaves or four pages; and the writing was now made to run parallel with the narrow side of the page, so that, if the form is unfolded into the original sheet or strip, the

<sup>20</sup> The exact length is uncertain. M. Senart has measured one of the length of 4 feet (or 1 m. 23), but states that the strips evidently vary in length. See *Journal Asiatique*, 1898. See also Professor v. Oldenburg's Report in the Transactions of the Imperial Russian Academy, for 1897. Woodcut, fig. 3 shows the exact measurements of a Çarādā manuscript in my possession, about 250 years old.

writing is seen to be in two columns and running parallel with the longer side of the strip as shown in fig. 3 of the Woodcut.

A noteworthy point in Alberuni's statement is that it seems to assert that, in his time at least, the use of birch-bark was peculiar to Central and Northern India, while palm-leaf was peculiar to Southern India. At first sight this assertion does not seem to be borne out by the evidence set out in the earlier part of this paper. Hiuen Tsiang also states explicitly that in his time (7th century) palm-leaf was used throughout India, and he travelled over the whole of India, and was in touch with the literary classes of India. All depends on the exact meaning of Alberuni's terms. That he cannot have included in his "Northern India" those portions which I have denoted Western and Eastern India is clear from the fact shown by my evidence that all the oldest manuscripts of those parts of Northern India, going back practically to the time of Alberuni himself, are of palm-leaf. There is no reason why birch-bark manuscripts should not have survived as well as palm-leaf manuscripts in the libraries of Pātān and Cambay, and elsewhere, if any birch-bark manuscripts had existed at all. That birch-bark manuscripts are quite capable of surviving for so long a time is proved by the Bower MS. Alberuni's "Northern India" must be limited to the Panjāb, Sindh, Rājputānā and Kashmīr, and his "Central India" must mean the North-West Provinces and Oudh, or what I have called the "Centre" of Northern India. In fact, Alberuni's terms are bounded by about the 24th Lat. and 85th Long., and India below the 24th Lat. is what he designates "Southern India." Understood in this sense, his statement is probably quite correct. It is true the evidence available on the point is very scanty. The only three birch-bark manuscripts of any considerable age, which are known to have survived are (1) the Paris and St. Petersburg MSS., (2) the Bower MS., and (3) the *Bakhsālī* MS. They all come originally from that portion of India which Alberuni includes in his "Northern India;" and—so far—they show that birch-bark was used there for book-writing. Nos. 1 and 2 are much older than Alberuni's time. No. 1 dates probably from the 1st or 2nd century A.D., the period of a still strong Greek influence, and its apparently roll-like form may be due to that influence. No. 2 dates from about 450 A.D., and is in the Indian Pōthī form, oblong, like the corypha leaf, with a string-hole.<sup>21</sup> It belongs to a period of a still strong Buddhist intercourse between what Alberuni calls "Southern India" and Central Asia. This may account for its distinctly Indian Pōthī form. No. 3 probably dates from about the

<sup>21</sup> The Bower MS. contains several distinct works, written on leaves of two distinct sizes,  $11\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $9 \times 2$ ", but both imitating the Corypha leaf.

time of Alberuni himself. Its form is peculiar. It resembles the Indian *Pothī*, in consisting of separate leaves, not "bound" in a book, but tied together in a bundle: but it differs from the *Pothī* in not having any string-hole for the passage of the tying string. The string-hole was probably omitted as being too risky for the material. It also differs in its shape, being squarish ( $7 \times 4''$ ), and not so distinctly oblong as the common Indian *Pothī*, made with the long narrow palm-leaves. Now it is noteworthy that the two oldest paper manuscripts known to us point to their having been made in imitation of such a birch-bark prototype as the Bakhshālī MS. The oldest paper manuscript, dated 1231 A.D. (*supra*, p. 121) has exactly the same squarish shape; it measures  $6 \times 4$  inches. The next oldest paper manuscript, dated A.D. 1343, is rather more oblong, measuring  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  inches, but it has no string-hole. Both these manuscripts come from that part of India which Alberuni calls "Central India as above explained." It seems permissible to conclude that when paper came into use, its leaves were cut and treated in imitation of birch-bark book-leaves in those parts of India where birch-bark was the common writing material, and that it was cut and treated in imitation of palm-leaf, wherever the latter material was used for book-writing. In this connection it is worth noting that no old palm-leaf manuscripts are known to come from Alberuni's "Northern and Central India," though, considering the scanty survival of birch-bark manuscripts, too great importance may not be attached to this point.<sup>22</sup> Regarding this point of survival, it may be noted that it applies equally to all kinds of manuscripts, whether of paper or of birch-bark or of palm-leaf. This circumstance shows that the cause of the non-survival is not to be sought in the climatic conditions of Alberuni's "Northern and Central India." These need not have prevented a reasonable amount of survival. The cause is probably rather to be sought in the political and religious troubles which so frequently convulsed those portions of India. During the Muhammadan conquest, for example, large destructions of Hindu literary works are reported to have taken place.

In this connection there is another interesting point to be noted. The Bower MS., which is written on birch-bark and is certainly as

<sup>22</sup> There are a few very old palm-leaf manuscripts, but they all come from Western India; at least there is no reason to assume any other place of origin for them. They are enumerated in Table I, Nos. 1-5. No. 5 is dated by Mr. Bendall in the Harṣa era, and this might seem to suggest the "Centre" of Northern India as its place of origin. But, in the first place, the date may be, and as I believe is, more probably, referable to the Gupta era, in which case the date of the manuscript is A.D. 571-2. In the second place, considering the wide extension of the Harṣa empire, even a Harṣa date is not incompatible with a Western Indian origin which on general grounds is far more probable.



early as the middle of the 5th century, is fashioned exactly like the typical Indian Corypha palm-leaf manuscript. It consists of separate leaves, provided with a string-hole, and these leaves measure from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width, which is the width of the Corypha leaf. But further, all the oldest paper manuscripts from Kuchar imitate the Indian Corypha leaf manuscripts, as may be seen from the specimens of the Weber MSS. and the Macartney MSS. which I have published. They all consist of separate, elongated oblong leaves, from  $2\frac{1}{4}$  to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide, with a string-hole, and with the writing running parallel with the longer side of the leaf. Everything points to the inscribed Corypha leaf as the model, not even to a Borassus leaf. The Bower MS. and those Weber and Macartney MSS. which are written in Indian Gupta characters must have been written by native Indians migrated to Kuchar, while the other Weber and Macartney MSS. written in the Central Asian modification of the Indian Gupta were probably written by native Kuchāris.<sup>23</sup> Why should the people of Northern India and of Central Asia have gone to the trouble of cutting up birch-bark and paper into the shape of palm-leaves, when both kinds of material more naturally lent themselves to other (square) forms, which for writing purposes one would have thought to be obviously more convenient than the long narrow strips of palm-leaf? What else could have caused this, but the sanction of immemorial usage among the literary classes of India, the learned and the "religious," those who occupied themselves with the composing and copying of books; and with the spread of Indian culture, through the Buddhist propaganda, its fashions of writing went with it beyond the borders of India. At the same time the circumstance that they imitated the oblong shape of the palm-leaf rather than the squarish shape of the birch-bark leaf clearly points to the conclusion that the writers of the manuscripts in question either came from Western India, or, at least, were influenced by the literary customs prevailing in that part of India—the part which is included in Alberuni's Southern India.<sup>24</sup>

This suggests another thought. The Corypha palm is a South Indian tree. Its leaves established that immemorial and so strongly

<sup>23</sup> See my paper in the *Journal, A.S.B.*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 257, 258.

<sup>24</sup> This view is confirmed by the circumstance that the leaves of some of the Weber and Macartney MSS. are numbered on their obverses. This, as the late Professor Bühler has pointed out (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 261), is a custom of Southern India. In Northern India the numbering is on the reverses. We thus seem here to come across a curious indication regarding the particular part of India from which the Buddhist propaganda proceeded to Eastern Turkistan. We should have to look for it in South-western India.

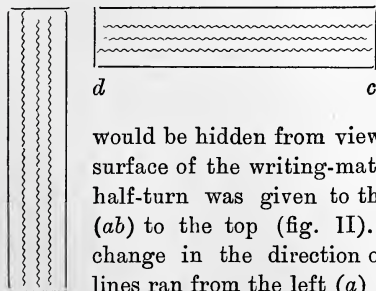


persistent fashion of shaping the writing material, even when it was birch-bark or paper. The people who used those leaves and thus initiated that fashion, must have been the first to learn and adopt the art of writing in India. The late Professor Bühler, in his excellent paper "On the Origin of the Indian Brāhmī Alphabet" (*Indian Studies*, No. III) and in his *Indian Palæography* (*Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, Chap. I, § 4), has shown it to be most probable that the Indian Brāhmī script is derived from a Northern Semitic alphabet and he suggests that it probably came by way of Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. I agree with Professor Bühler; only I believe the original of the Brāhmī script to have been, not the Phœnician alphabet of the 8th or 9th century B.C., but the Proto-Aramaean of the 7th or 6th century B.C. All the trustworthy evidence, at present available, points to the conclusion that the maritime commerce of India with the West cannot have commenced before the 7th century B.C., and that it ran from the west coast of India through the Persian Gulf to Mesopotamia. At that time, there existed a flourishing land-trade between Mesopotamia and the further West through the North of Arabia. The Indian sea-trade connected with this land-trade. The latter had a script, common to all the peoples that participated in it, and it must have been this script with which the Indian merchants and mariners became acquainted in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. This script which may be called the Proto-Aramaean, was a cursive development of the Phœnician, and owed its origin to the need of a popular short script by the side of the more cumbersome cuneiform. Further all available evidence seems to show that, though there probably existed a coasting-trade all along the west-coast of India to Ceylon, the Indian sea-trade to Mesopotamia started from the northern part of the west-coast, above Bombay, in the Gulf of Cambay, where the two ancient ports of Bharoch and Supārā, already mentioned in the Jātakas, are situated. **It is here, in the north-western part of Southern India that the Brāhmī script must have originated, say, between 650 and 550 B.C.** It was here that the Proto-Aramaean script was introduced by the Indian mariners, and elaborated into a new script by men belonging to the literary classes of India for the benefit, primarily, of the mercantile classes. These men would not have been slow to notice the advantage of the new importation, and they would naturally alter and enlarge it, and generally adapt it to the needs of their own language and literature. The details of this process of adaptation have been very well worked out by Professor Bühler in his papers above cited. But what I wish to point out is that the three principles on which Professor Bühler shows the adaptation to have been made are most easily accounted for, if we remember the nature of the

writing material to which the Proto-Aramaean script had to be adapted. Professor Bühler accounts for them by "a certain pedantic formalism" of the Indians. But they are far more naturally accounted for by the fact that the South Indians adopted the Corypha palm-leaf to write upon, and took to the fashion of scratching their letters on them. Why they should have chosen palm-leaves and the method of scratching on them, is another question which it would be interesting to explain. But anyhow, as a matter of fact, they did make their choice in that way. And having done so, the principles above referred to followed almost as a matter of course. Considering the venation of the palm-leaf (cross-veins running at right angles with the length of the leaf), one could only scratch letters with comfort on them, if they were made "of vertical lines with appendages attached at the foot" instead of the top, and "set up straight." Considering the extreme narrowness of the palm-leaf (about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches at most), admitting only a very small number of lines, the letters had to be "made equal in height," lest space was wasted.

In connection with this another point comes in. The Semitic script runs from the right to the left, while the Brāhmī runs from the left to the right. So far as I know, it has never been satisfactorily explained what could have induced the Indians to introduce the change. The boustrophedon method of writing which is supposed to account for the same change of direction in Greece, will not serve as an explanation; for that method has never been observed in any Indian inscription, nor is it ever noticed in Indian tradition. I should like to suggest the following explanation. The original writing material of the Indians were very narrow oblongs: bamboo-slips or palm-leaves. On these they probably wrote (as also the Chinese do) originally invvertical lines, parallel with the longer

*d I a a II b* side, (*ab* in fig. I) and running, after the Semitic fashion, from the right (*a*) to the left (*d*), every letter also facing left. With this method of writing the earlier-written lines would be hidden from view by the hand as it moved across the surface of the writing-material. To avoid this inconvenience, a half-turn was given to the latter, so as to bring its longer side (*ab*) to the top (fig. II). The consequence was a complete change in the direction of writing; for now the letters on the lines ran from the left (*a*) to the right (*b*), and the lines from the top (*a*) to the bottom (*d*), parallel with the longer side (*ab*) as shown in fig. II. This is precisely the way in which all existing Indian *pothīs* are written. By the half-turn, given to the



material, all the letters written on it would also be placed on their sides, and to obviate this inconvenience, they were again set up straight, but now usually facing in the opposite direction. The original practice of vertical writing may have had a cause similar to that above suggested for the half-turn of the material: or it may have been due to the inconvenience of frequent breaks of continuity in writing extremely short horizontal lines (parallel to *ad* in fig. I).

This paper was read to the Society in May 1898. Its publication was delayed, in the hope that I might be able to add the results of an enquiry into another source of evidence. But as my work on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities will prevent this for some time, it seems better to present the evidence as it stands at present, especially as it is of such a direct and reliable character. The other source I refer to is the occurrence of the names of the Corypha and Borassus palms respectively in ancient Indian literature. When the date of an ancient work is known, exactly or approximately, one would suppose the occurrence in it of the name of the palms should be a proof, first, of their existence in India at that time, and secondly, of the use of their leaves as writing material. This seems a perfectly sound assumption, but there are several pitfalls to be guarded against: (1) is the date assigned to the work reliable; (2) is the passage in which the name occurs genuinely old, or possibly a later interpolation; (3) is the application of the terms to the palms in question certain? I have not been able to spare time for the examination of this source of evidence; but I may just mention a few instructive cases to illustrate its difficulties.

(1) Professor Hara Prasad Shastri has drawn my attention to a passage in the *Lalita Vistara* (Bibliotheca Indica Ed., p. 526, l. 12), in which the fruit of the *Borassus flabellifer* is supposed to be referred to. As the *Lalita Vistara* certainly existed as early as the 3rd century A.D. (having been translated into Chinese in 308 A.D.), we should thus have a testimony to a very early existence of the Borassus palm in India. The passage runs as follows: *tad-yath=āpi nāma Tāla-phalasya pakvasya samanantaravṛṇṭa-cyutasya bandhan-āçrayaḥ pita-nirbhāso bhavati ..... , evam=evu Bhagavato Gautamasya ..... pariçuddham mukha-maṇḍalam*, etc., i.e., "Just as the exocarp of the ripe fruit of the Tāla palm, when it drops from its stalk, is of a brilliant yellow, even so is the face of the Blessed Gautama perfectly pure." On referring this passage to Dr. Prain, I received the following reply: "My only objection as a botanist to the identification of *Tāla-phala* with either the Tāla or Tālī palms, i.e., with either the Borassus or the Corypha, is that the *bandhan-āçraya* (exocarp)

of both is *anything but* 'brilliant yellow.' The fruit of *Borassus* is 'rusty brown,' that of *Corypha* 'grey,' when they have respectively dropped from the stalk. Of course, there is a Palm, and that too one which is undoubtedly a native of northern India, with fruits that when ripe *do* most thoroughly deserve the description 'brilliant yellow.' This is the *Kajūr* or wild date. The difficulty then, of course, is the name; was *Tāla* ever commonly applied to what is now more generally known as *Kajūr*? I find that Dr. Watt has been informed (see his Dictionary under *Phoenix dactylifera*, the Date, and *Phoenix sylvestris*, the wild date, which is not really botanically separable from the cultivated tree) that in Sind, where, by the way, according to Mr. James and Mr. Strachan *Borassus* is not grown, one of the names of *Phoenix dactylifera* is *tār* to this day, and that in the Panjāb the name *Tārī* is still applied to the juice (taken to make Toddy) of the wild date, *Phoenix sylvestris*." This seems to me to speak for itself, and shows the necessity of caution in dealing with botanical terms occurring in old Indian literature.

(2) In the Introduction to the *Jātaka* book there occurs the following passage: *puratthābhimukho nisiditvā ekatthitāla-pakkappamāṇe ekūnapaññāsa piṇḍe katvā sabbam appodakam madhupāyāsam paribhujī*, i.e. (as translated by Mr. Warren in his *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 74) "setting down with his face to the east, he made the whole of the thick, sweet milkrice into forty-nine pellets of the size of the fruit of the single-seeded palmyra-tree, and ate it." The meaning, of course, is that Buddha ate the milkrice in 49 mouthfuls. The passage occurs in the story of the dish of milkrice which was given by Sujātā to Buddha shortly before his enlightenment. I referred this passage to Sir George King who replied "the fruit of *Borassus* is too big to be likened to the ball which a native of India makes up when he eats rice. So I presume *Corypha* must be the species of *Tāla* meant. Its fruit is small, globular, and not longer than a walnut. The fruit of the Palmyra is of the size of a closed human fist or a cricket-ball." Measured by it the milkrice, and the "mouthful" would have been an enormous quantity. By the way, the expression "single-seeded" is curious. The rule with all palms is a single seed. The only Indian palm, which, as Sir George King informs me, has occasionally two seeds in its fruit is the *Caryota urens*, which is common enough in India and Ceylon. If the writer of the Introduction to the *Jātaka* book knew that the *Caryota* had sometimes two seeds, it would explain his applying the term "single-seeded" to the *Corypha*.

(3) There is a well-known passage in Arrian's *Indica* (Ch. VII), in which Megasthenes is quoted as saying: "They (the Indians) eat the inner bark (φλοιός) of trees; the trees are called in the speech of the J. I. 18

Indians *tala*, and there grows on them, just as on the tops (κορυφή) of the date palms (φοίνιξ), something like balls of wool" (οἷάπερ πολύπας). It is commonly assumed that the *tala* tree is the Borassus, and that the "something" means its fruit. But Megasthenes cannot have referred to the fruit of the tree; he clearly meant something, the nature of which he did not know; it was neither fruit nor flower, but could only be described by its resemblance. Anyhow the whole description of the tree fits neither the Borassus nor the Corypha palm. The only Indian palm which agrees with some items of the description is the *Caryota urens*. The pith of it yields sago; and tufts of a kind of woolly stuff grow at the points where the leaves join the stem (see Yule's *Friar Jordanus*, p. 17, Hackluyt Soc., 1862). These may have been intended by the "inner bark" and the "something" of Arrian. But neither the tufts, nor the fruit of this palm—and, indeed, of any palm—grows on its "top," and the reference to the date-palm remains unintelligible.

One thing is clear. The common assumption in all the dictionaries (Sanskrit or Pali) and translations that *tāla* always means the Borassus or palmyra, and *tālī* the Corypha, is quite unfounded. *Tāla* is simply the generic name of any palm, and the context must show which palm is intended in any particular case. This is certainly the case with the older Indian literature, whatever the modern usage may be.

With reference to page 124, I may now add that the earliest evidence that I can find of the existence of the Borassus palm in India, occurs in Friar Jordanus' *Mirabilia descripta*, in 1328 A.D. He calls the tree *tāri* (or *tālī*), and says that it "gives all the year round a white liquor pleasant to drink." (See Yule's *Hodson Jobson*, s.v. Toddy). The reference to the "toddy" shows that the Borassus palm is meant.

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*A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.*—By THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh.* Communicated by the *Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

- (a) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (b) pronunciation, (c) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (d) application, (e) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (b) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels<sup>1</sup>, *ā* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh*=*ṣ*, *zh*=*ṣ*, *ng*=*ṇ*, *c*=*ṣ*, *ch*=*ṣ*, *j*=*ṣ*, *ts*=*ṣ*, *ths*=*ṣ*. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r*=Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

### THE PROVERBS.

1. (a) དཔྱད་ཉིད་རིང་མོ་ལ་བྱང་གསུམ་དང་བྱོ་གསུམ།

མི་ཆེ་རིང་མོ་ལ་སྒྱིད་གསུམ་དང་སྒྲུག་གསུམ།

- (b) *spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum*  
*mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.*

<sup>1</sup> They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.



- (c) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths  
In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three  
unfortunate [hours].
- (d) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.
- (e) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determinativum* formed from  
*spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosun*, etc., must  
be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the  
missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.
2. (a) སྒྱིད་དུག་མི་ལ། རེ་རྩ་བ་ཤིང་ལ།  
(b) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.  
(c) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.  
(d) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so  
unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain  
people.  
(e) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum*.
3. (a) ཐིག་ས་པ་བསག་ན་གྲུ་མཚོ་གང།  
(b) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.  
(c) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.  
(d) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without  
an article to express the adjective "full."
4. (a) མཱ་ཤྲོའི་ནག་རང་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ།  
སྒྲེལ་མཛོས་མེ་ཆེ་དང་གཡག་ཁོག་ཟམ།  
(b) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'  
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.  
(c) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro  
[the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.  
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of  
a Yak.  
(d) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at  
Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro,  
it is warmer then.  
(e) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the  
original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in  
ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a  
great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the  
Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals  
are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said  
instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

5. (a) དཔུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལྷག་ཁོག་ཟས།  
 (b) spithüggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.  
 (c) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.  
 (d) Often said instead of the former.  
 (e) The name of the village *Spithüg* is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness.' The monastery of *Spithüg* was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhasa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.
6. (a) ས་ལ་སྐྱེ་རེ་ལྗང་། མི་ལ་སྐྱེ་རེ་སྐྱེ་རེ།  
 (b) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, düg're.  
 (c) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.  
 (d) See 1 (d).  
 (e) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *ngonpo*, etc.
7. (a) ཁ་ལ་སྐྱེ་རེ་ལྗང་རུས།  
 ཅི་གོན་འབྱུང་རེ་ཅི་ཟེ་ལི་རུས།  
 (b) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.

- (c) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.
- (d) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.
- (e) About *kha* instead of *khala* see 1 (e). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

8. (a) ཀམར་རྫོང་གི་ཡལ་ལྷ་ལྷ།

ཅུ་ཕྱི་ལོ་ཅུ་ཡང་འབྱུང་།

- (b) khar'zongi yachula lta'ita,  
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.
- (c) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.
- (d) take what is nearest!
- (e) refers to the system of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

9. (a) ར་མའི་ཁྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཁྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།

- (b) ra'mä thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.
- (c) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.
- (d) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,
- (e) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

10. (a) དཔིད་འབད་དུས། ལྷོན་ལྷུ་དུས།

- (b) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdudus'.
- (c) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.
- (d) Do everything at the proper season.
- (e) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled  
*Comps. determ.*

11. (a) དཔིད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། ལྷོན་ལྷུ་དུས་ལ་འབྱུང་འདུག།

- (b) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.
- (c) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.
- (e) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdudus* = gather.

12. (a) ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཚེས་དང་མཉམ་བོ་འབྲུག་ཐེང་ན།  
མདོ་ཤ་གི་ལིང་ལ་ཕྱོག་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།
- (b) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po drug' ldir'na,  
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.
- (c) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder  
sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak]  
and Gilgit.
- (d) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an  
earlier harvest than Leh.
- (e) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the  
Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary  
Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.
13. (a) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བྱ་རོས་ཐོང་བོ་ཚོད།
- (b) yünring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.
- (c) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the  
wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.
- (d) With perseverance great things can be done.
- (e) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.
14. (a) གང་ཁྲིམ་ཀྱི་ཡང་མ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།  
དཔེ་ཐག་གི་སྐྱོབ་ཡང་འབྱད།
- (b) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.  
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.
- (c) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village)  
the rough straw of Spithüg is lost.
- (d) See 8 (d).
- (e) About *lalta*, see 8 (e).
15. (a) བྱ་ཚང་མ་བྱ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང་།  
བྱ་དེ་ཅུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཅོ་ཤལ་མཐུག་ལ་ལུས།
- (b) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'  
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.
- (c) All birds have gone to birdland.  
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.
- (d) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can,  
disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

16. (a) དབྱར་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་རྩོད་མི་དབབ།  
 དགུན་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་གང་མི་དབབ།  
 (b) yar'nyin log'ste man'ne drob' mi bab',  
 gun'ynlog'ste man'ne drang' mi bab'.  
 (c) Unless the summer-day returns, heat will not come down.  
 Unless the winter-day returns, cold will not come down.  
 (d) Everything will come at the proper season.  
 (e) *Mannas*, a gerund of *man* = to be not, used in the sense of  
 unless, besides, etc., *yarnyin*, *gunnyin*, see *spidnyin* in 1.
17. (a) མཚན་སྟེང་ལ་དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བདབ་དགོས།  
 མཚན་དཀྱིལ་ལ་གཉིད་ལོག་དགོས།  
 མཚན་སྒྲུང་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལས་ལ་བསམ་བ་བདང་དགོས།  
 (b) thsanstod'la konchog'la so'va tab'rgos  
 thsanskyil'la nyid'log rgos.  
 thsan smad'la jig'stenni las'la sam'ba tang' rgos.  
 (c) In the first part of the night you must pray to God.  
 In the middle of the night you must sleep.  
 In the last part of the night you must think of the work  
 of this world.  
 (e) For *sova* instead of *solva*, see 4 (e). In *dgos*, must, the *d*  
 is turned into *r*, *rg* is pronounced like *ch* in Loch, lake.
18. (a) ཤ་བ་རི་དྭགས་རི་ན་འབྲུལ་བ་མིག་གི་རྒྱན།  
 དམན་ཚང་མོ་སྤང་ན་འབྲུལ་བ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན།  
 (b) sha va ri'dags ri'na drul'va mig'gi gyan',  
 sman thsar'mo shrang'na drul'va id'kyi gyan'.  
 (c) The deer Shava walking in the hills is the delight of the  
 eye, a fine girl walking in the street is the delight of  
 the heart.  
 (e) Notice the classical Participle in *va* in *drulva*. In proper  
 Ladakhi the ending *khan* would be used.
19. (a) སྟག་སྒྲེའི་ཤོ་རེས་མ་སྒྲེའི་ཤོ་རེ་ལ་ཁྲིམ་འདུག།  
 (b) Stag'nä sho'res Mash'roi sho'rela threl'dug.  
 (c) The harelipped man of Stagna [a village] laughs at the  
 harelip of Mashro.

- (d) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own.  
 (e) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*.

20. (a) རྒྱུ་ཁྲི་ཚོ་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉལ་སྤྱར་བརྩམ་མ་བཏང།  
 (b) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.  
 (c) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.  
 (d) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).  
 (e) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first.
21. (a) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།  
 (b) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.  
 (c) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.  
 (d) It is safest to remain low and humble.  
 (e) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp.*  
*det.*
22. (a) རྟ་ལ་མིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ།  
 བོང་རྩའི་ར་གོ་མ་རྒྱུང།  
 (b) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste, bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.  
 (c) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].  
 (d) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.
23. (a) བྱ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང།  
 ཚོར་ཀ་མེད་ན་རྟ་གྲོས།  
 (b) bu'lon med'na lag'midang' thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'  
 (c) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!  
 (d) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.



24. (a) ཨ་བུ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམས་ཅིན་ན།

དྭ་གན་ཞིག་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོངས།

(b) a'ba shi'in sam'spinna

star'gan cig'la cila ma tsong's.

(c) If you thought [knew], that father will die,

Why did you not sell him [before dying] for an old horse.

(d) Used derisively. You could not help your misfortune  
just as you cannot sell your father.

(e) *Samspin* a contraction of *bsamspa yin*.

25. (a) བཟོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགེ་བ་མེད།

ཞེ་སྤང་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤྲིན་པ་མེད།

(b) zod'pa lta'bui ge'va med

zhed'dang lta'bui dig'pa med.

(c) There is no virtue like patience ;

There is no sin like hatred.

26. (a) སྤྲུང་པ་རང་མགོ་མ་འཕྱོད་ན།

གཤམ་པོའི་ཡར་འཕྱོད་ཅི་བཙོལ་ཡིན།

(b) La'ma rang'go ma thon'na

shin'poi yar'dren ci co'in.

(c) If the Lama's own head does not come out [cleanly],  
how will he manage (do) the drawing upwards of the  
dead.

(d) Used for deriding the immoral life of the lamas.

(e) *Thonces* is verb neuter of *btonces*, to put out.

27. (a) ཤི་སྟང་ཤི་སྟང་ཟེར་ན།

གཤམ་པོ་མིག་རི་ནས་ལྟ་ཡིན།

(b) shi'song shi'song zer'na

shin'mig ri'nā lte'n.

(c) If you say "he is dead, he is dead,"

The eye of the dead will look out of the hill.

(d) Ladakhi superstition. It is not good to speak much of a  
dead man, his eye might frighten the speaker.

- (e) For the *n* in *shinmig* or *shinpo* see also *nyin* derived from *nyima*. Syllables ending in a vowel are inclined to add a final *n*, see also *mentog* from *metog* and many others.

28. (a) རང་སྐྱོན་པད་གང་འབོར་དེ།

མི་སྐྱོན་སྤྱི་གང་ལ་མ་བྲེལ།

- (b) rang'skyon phad'gang bor'te  
mi'skyon rgye'gangla mathrel'.

- (c) Putting aside the large bag [*phad*] filled with your own faults, do not mock at the little bag [*rgye*] of your neighbour's faults.

- (e) *Rang skyonphad gang* and *misky on rgye gang* are *Compos. determ.* Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rgye*.

29. (a) རང་གཞོང་མ་མཐོང་མྱེ།

མི་གཞོང་ལ་ལྟ་མོ།

- (b) rang'dong ma thong'ste  
mi'dongla stad'mo.

- (c) Not seeing your own [ugly] face, [you make] a scene about your neighbour's face

- (d) See 28.

- (e) *Ltadmo* derived from *ltaces*, to look at.

30. (a) ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་བོ་ཡིན།

གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་བོ་ཡིན།

- (b) lag'shes gun'gyi yog'po in'  
stam'shes gun'gyi spon'bo in.

- (c) Who is clever with his hands, is servant of all, who is clever in his speech, is master of all.

- (e) The ending *gyi* is retained here. The proper Ladakhi would be *gunni*. The silent *g* and *d* in *gtam* and *dpon* become *s*.

31. (a) ཆག་བོས་འགས་བོ་ལ་མ་བྲེལ།

- (b) chag'poe gas'pola ma threl'.

- (c) What is broken, must not laugh at what is cracked.

- (d) See 28 and 29.

- (e) *Chagpo* and *gaspo* are substantives derived from verbs.

32. (a) མ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ན་སྤྲོ་མའི་སྤྲོ་ཆང་ལྷེར་ཡིན།།  
 (b) mashi'thse ring'dugna shran'mä shran'chang ster'rin.  
 (c) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.  
 (d) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.  
 (e) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb. and copulat.*
33. (a) མ་བུ་བྲམས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་སྒོ་ཚོད་མས་ཚོད།།  
 (b) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na  
 thsalrgo thsod'mä chod'.  
 (c) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].  
 (d) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.  
 (e) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*
34. (a) བསམ་པ་སྒྲིན་ལ་མ་བཤང་ན།  
 འགྱོད་པ་དྲིང་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།  
 (b) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na  
 gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.  
 (c) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.
35. (a) བོང་ཐུའི་ན་མཚལ་ལ་སེར་སྒྲུག་ན། ཡང་ན་ཐལ་བ་སྒྲུག་ན།  
 ཚོགས་ཡིན།།  
 (b) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.  
 (c) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.  
 (d) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.  
 (e) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.
36. (a) སྤྲོ་མ་སྒྲུག་བརྒྱབ་ན། དྲིང་མ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར།།  
 (b) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.  
 (c) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

(d) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you.

(e) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee.

37. (a) ལྷག་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོང་འདུག་ཟེར་དེ།

ཞ་འདུག་ནས་རྩོལ་འཁྲར་དེ་ཆ་ཅུག།

(b) stag'nanä khyi'yongdug zer'te

zha'bugnä rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(c) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(d) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(e) *Zhabug* = *zhabub* = falling headlong into a bog; *charug* = *cha'adug*; the *d* of '*adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel.

38. (a) མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན།

ཤིང་ངན་དྭ་ཀྱ་དང་ཐུག།

(b) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na

shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(c) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(d) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(e) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped.

39. (a) མི་ལ་སྤྱད་མི་ཐག།

ར་ལ་ཚོལ་མི་ཐག།

(b) mi'la skyid' mithag'

ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(c) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(e) *Thagces* = *thegpa*.

40. (a) ཁྱི་ལ་སྤྱུང་དང་བེ་ཏུ་ལ་ཤོ།

(b) khyi'a sgaldang be'daa shol.

(c) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(d) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

- (e) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally འབྱེ་གཞིལ་, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (e); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

41. (a) དྲཱ་ཕང་ལྷོང་ངམ། དཔོན་བཅོས་བཀྱོན་ཕྱིང་ངམ།

- (b) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.  
 (c) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.  
 (d) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.  
 (e) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

42. (a) སྤྱུ་གུ་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཅུན་རྩུང་ལ་ཐུ།

- (b) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.  
 (c) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].  
 (d) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].  
 (e) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau =  $3\frac{1}{4}$  annas, *btsunjung* = *btsunchung*, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

43. (a) ཁ་དྲཱ་ཀོ་ལྷག་ཟེར་ས་དང་སྤྱུ་མའི་རོ་ལྷག་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སྤྱེབ་འདུག།

- (b) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.  
 (c) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.  
 (d) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.  
 (e) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin.* *trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

44. (a) སྤྱུ་ཉི་མེད་ཅན་ནི་སྤྱིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།

བོད་སྤྱིང་མེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་སྤྱོར།

- (b) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la  
 bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

- (c) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost.
- (d) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.
- (e) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection.

45. (a) མཉམ་པོ་དུགས་པ་སྒྲ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད།

- (b) *nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'*.
- (c) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama.
- (d) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance.
- (e) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund.

46. (a) མནའ་མ་མནའ་མ་རེར་ར་ནི་མིའི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

སྒྲ་མ་ལ་གཡུ་ཁྱེད་བཏག་ག་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐྱོར་ཡིན།

- (b) *na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in' gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pā gob'skor in'.*
- (c) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.
- (d) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.
- (e) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (a) ཁྱུ་སྐྱོ་ཁོ་ཕྱག་རེར་པ། ཅུང་ཀའི་མིག་འབྲུལ།

- (b) *Kha'tā ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kā mig' thrul'.*
- (c) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.
- (d) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.
- (e) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*.



48. (a) ཟ་བོ་ཁ་ཏ་མ་ཟོས། ཅུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་བོ།  
 (b) za'o kha'tä zos', cung'kä kha' marpo'.  
 (c) The [stolen] food was eaten by the crow [but the beak of the raven is red].  
 (d) Often the wrong person is caught instead of the guilty one.  
 (e) *Zos*=*bzas*, *zos* is the only past tense in Ladakhi, which changes the vowel.
49. (a) ཨོལ་མགོང་མྱེ་ཁ་འགས།  
 (b) thsil'thong'ste kha'gas'.  
 (c) [When] seeing grease, the mouth cracks [open].  
 (d) When you see something nice you want to have it.  
 (e) *Thsil*=mutton grease, a very desirable thing in Ladakh.
50. (a) ཉོར་མེད་ཚོང་ས་ལ་ཆ་ན། ཟྱོ་འདོད།  
 (b) nor'med thsong'sala cha'na, nyo'dod.  
 (c) Who goes to the shop without money, likes foolishness.  
 (d) Do nothing unprepared, you might be laughed at.  
 (e) *Nyodod* is *Compos. determ.*=a liker of foolishness.
51. (a) མྱོད་ན་མྱོད་ན་ངའི་སང་གྲུལ་ལས་མྱོད།  
 མྱོད་ན་མྱོད་ན་ངའི་སང་བླ་ལས་མྱོད།  
 (b) stod'na stod'na ngä' sang gyal'lä stod'  
 smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.  
 (c) Who praises me, is a better man than I am.  
 Who despises me, is a worse man than I am.  
 (d) Said by a man who has heard that slander is going on about him.  
 (e) For *sang* with the comparative, see Jäschke's grammar; *rgyallas* and *thuspas* are Instrumentals, *gyalla*=a good man.

*A Primer of the Asur dukmā, a dialect of the Kolarian language.*—By THE REV. FERD. HAHN, *German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Choṭā Nāgpur.* Communicated by DR. G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E.

[Read December, 1899.]

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The Asurs are a non-Aryan tribe of Choṭā Nāgpur, who number only about 2,500 souls. They chiefly inhabit the Districts of Rañchi and Palāmān and the Sargujā tributary state. Though small, the tribe is divided into several sections, *viz.*, the Agōriā- the Brijīā or Binjhiā- the Lōharā- the Kōl- and the Pahārīā-Asurs. These sub-tribes are again divided into totemistic sections, which are similar in name to those found among other aborigines in Choṭā Nāgpur; as for example: Bes'erā=hawk; Īnd=eel; Baṛeā=wild dog; Hōrō=tortoise; Būā=jackal; Rotē=frog, etc.<sup>1</sup> The chief occupation of the Asurs is melting iron and in the case of the Lōharā-Asurs the making of rude iron utensils and agricultural implements; besides they till the jungle in the most primitive manner. Their homes are made of wood, Bamboo and grass only and chiefly met with at the foot or even at the slopes of the hills which contain iron ore. When the land they have cultivated is exhausted they change their homes and move to another place in the forest.

As to religion the Asurs believe in a Creator and apparently identify him with the sun, whom they call Siṅboṅā; no worship however is rendered to him, since he is benevolent and does not require any expiation. It is peculiar that they do not know of any evil spirits except the manes of their ancestors, which alone are feared and to whom sacrifices are made; the latter exclusively consisting of fowls. The sacrificial altar is the fire-hearth. The Asurs have no priests, the

<sup>1</sup> These totems do not appear to be taboo to the members of its Sept, the only trace of such a thing is to be found in the restriction of intermarriage within the same totemistic Sept; but even here I was told by some men of the Bes'erā section, that they could not help intermarrying, since other sections were living too far away from their homes.

head of each family performs the required religious rites.<sup>2</sup> Every departed parent becomes a spirit and everybody who dies an unnatural death turns into a malignant one. After the death of a member of the household the regular meals are placed in his name outside the home near the door for eight days, after which the nearest relatives and friends come for the funeral meal at which they partake freely of "jhaṛi," Rice-beer, which they brew themselves. The Asurs burn their dead and put some rice on the funeral pile for the journey of the deceased beyond. They do not pick up any relics to keep or put by as other aborigines do. If sickness or any calamity visits the house of the Asur he is sure that some way or other a deceased parent has been disturbed, who must be quieted in the manner described above. The most peculiar feature, however, in the belief of the Asurs is the idea that ancestors or the spirits of the dead are re-born in their children.

The marriage ceremony is very simple, no priestly functions are required. Polygamy is permitted and so is the re-marriage of widows. The price of a bride varies from three to five rupees. Child marriages are unknown to the Asurs. Marriages within the totemistic section is not entirely prohibited, otherwise the common restriction is observed :—"Chachērā, mamērā, phuphērā, musērā." The Asurs do not tattoo and ornaments are worn very sparingly. The Baby gets some anklets of iron to protect him from the evil eye of some person outside the tribe; within there are no witches or persons with evil eye. The Asurs are a stern race, have no musical instruments and seldom sing or dance. Rice-beer is indulged in by both sexes, but only men smoke. They are not very particular about their food and eat almost everything, even the flesh of the carcase of a cow.

I have tried almost in vain to find out any traditions or legends the Asurs might possess; all I could gather is, that they have a remnant of the Asur-legend so well known among the Muṇḍāris and Urāons.

There can be no doubt but that Asurs are the subject of this tradition, according to which they were destroyed by Siṅbonā, who ruled that their spirits should be worshipped. The meaning of this tradition is apparently the following :—

The Asurs were the first settlers in the country, which is now called Chōṭā Nāgpur; they were living then pretty much in the same way as they do now, viz., chiefly by iron smelting and a little husbandry. It may be that a section of them had acquired some civilization

<sup>2</sup> When they are found to practise demonworship, it is only in aid to the deity of the village in the precincts of which they live. In these cases the baigā or priest of the respective community (Korwā or Urāon) is making the sacrifice.

and that those remnants of copper mines, found in some localities of Chōṭā Nāgpur owe their origin to this advanced section of the Asurs. The Muṇḍāris entered Chōṭā Nāgpur after them, coming from the West, leaving the Korkus in the Ellichpur District and other Kolarian tribes in other parts of the Central Provinces. Doubtless a fierce struggle between the new comers and the original settlers ensued, in which the Asurs, perhaps in a bloody battle were almost annihilated, the surviving remnant being driven to the hills, where we find them even now; however the spirits of the slain haunted the victors who being horrified by the tremendous slaughter they had committed among their enemies, for ever feared that these spirits would take revenge and hence the deifying and worship and propitiation of them by means of sacrifices on the part of the conquerors. The Asurs have most probably adopted the language of the latter, the Muṇḍāris, retaining only part of their original "dukṃā" and making such alterations in the pronunciation of the language of their conquerors, as suited them best. By and bye they added also Dravidian words to their vocabulary and still later on some Hindī words and thus was made up the present Asur Du ṃā, of which on the following pages a grammatical outline is given.

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## CHAPTER I. TRANSLITERATION.

1. *Vowels.*

Short *a* and long *ā* like the final *a* in the word *America* and the *a* in *father*, respectively :—

*e* short like the *e* in the English word *glen* ;

*ē* long, as the *a* in *rate* ;

*i* and *ī* as *i*, in *bit* and *ee*, in *tree* respectively ;

*o* short like the *o* in *short* ;

*ō* long as in *both* ;

*ó* a sound similar to the *oa* in *broad* ;

*u* short and long *ū* as in *full* and *flute* respectively ;

*au* diphthong like *ou* in *house* ;

*ai* resembling the *i* in *light*.

2. *Hiatus and Consonants.*

The check which often occurs after a vowel and especially when two vowels stand together, is represented by an apostrophe ('). The semivowels *y* and *v* are frequently employed in connection with short vowels for the sake of euphony.

Little is to be said with regard to consonants, since they are the same as in the Hindi alphabet, with which the reader is supposed to be familiar; the guttural nasal *n* is represented by a ruled *n*=*n̄*. The nasal *n* in connection with the guttural *g* is represented by *ṅ*. The palatials *ḍ* and *ṭ* are written *ḍ* and *ṭ* and the cerebral *r*=*r̄*, *c* is pronounced like *ch* in *church* *ch* is its aspirated form.

## CHAPTER II. NOUNS.

3. *Gender and Number.*

The *Asur dukmā* does not distinguish between gender. Whenever it is desired to distinguish sex, the *Asur* adds with regard to children, *kōrā* and *kūrī* to *hopon*, respectively, thus *kōrā hopon*, means a male child, and *kūrī hopon*, a female child. For irrational beings he makes use of the word *saṇḍi* and *eṅā* ; e.g., *kūl*=tiger, *kūl saṇḍi*=male tiger ; *kūl eṅā*=tigress.

*Asur* has three numbers, the Singular, the Dual, and the Plural. The formation of the latter two is quite easy ; for the Dual simply adds *kiṅ* and the Plural *kū* ; thus :—

*hor*, a man ;

*hor kiṅ*, two men ;

*hor kū*, men ;

*īpil*, a star ;

*īpil kiṅ*, two stars ;

*īpil kū*, stars ;

*haḍḍā*, an ox ;

*haḍḍā kiṅ*, two oxen ;

*haḍḍā kū*, oxen ;

*ḍīrī*, a stone ;

*ḍīrī kiṅ*, two stones ;

*ḍīrī kū*, stones ;



4. *Cases.*

The Nominative, Accusative and Dative have no case signs and are therefore alike; when however in the Dative direction is implied it takes the sign of the Ablative case *tē*. The sign of the genitive is *ā* and *rā* and that of the corresponding possessive *ren* and *renī*.

The Locative sign is *rē*, the vocative is identical with the nominative and is preceded by the interjection *oe*; therefore

|                                     |   |               |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| Nominative                          | } | are the same. |
| Accusative                          |   |               |
| Vocative                            |   |               |
| Dative                              | } | <i>tē</i> .   |
| Dative, II form                     |   |               |
| Ablative                            |   |               |
| Genit. <i>ā</i> , <i>rā</i> .       |   |               |
| Possess. <i>ren</i> , <i>renī</i> . |   |               |
| Loc. <i>rē</i> .                    |   |               |

5. *Case examples.*

Nominative, Accusative, and Dative :

*niā dīrī idanā*, this is a stone.

*minā dīrī aguimē*, bring that stone.

*hoṛkū vedkanā*, the men have come.

*hoṛkū alopē rūepē*, don't beat the men.

*kūl mīad haḍḍā hablidiāe*, the tiger has seized an ox.

*Asur hoṛku ōt kākū kameā*, the Asurs do not cultivate the field, *hukū merhed kameā*, they work iron.

*Sadom idimē*, take away the horse.

*sadom bir ovaïemē*, give grass to the horse.

Dative and Ablative :

*Jū, hunī tē senōmē* ! Go up to him.

*Jū, amā watu te senōmē* Go to your village.

*iṇ orā tē rūar tanāiṇ* I am returning home.

Ablative and Instrumental :

*Am okoātē vejulenā* ? Where do you come from ?

*Banai banai hoṛkū rayet tē gojoyanā*. Many people died from starvation.

*Honā watu tē iṇ vedlenā*. I came from that village.

*minīetē paisā rejemē* ! Take away the money from him !

Genitive and Possessive :

*iṇā ōrā*, my house ; *aleā orā*, our house.

*amā nyumū citanā*, what's your name ?

*hinirā gendrā aguime*, bring his cloth.

*sadom rā caulom*, the tail of the horse.

*sūtam rā bāver*, a rope of cotton.

*merhed rā kaṭu*, a sword of iron.

*neā disum ren rājā*, the king of this country.

*neā oṛā rēnī hoṛkū*, the men of this house.

*boyoy rēnī hopon*, this is my younger uncle's son.

*Asur rēnī Baigā kuniā*, the Asurs have no priests, *lit.* of the Asurs no priest is.

#### Locative :

*oṛā re*, in the house.

*okoārē dōhótanā* ? Where (in what) do you stay ?

*minī rē dāri konoā*, he has no strength (in him).

*Burū rā usul rē*, on the top of the hill.

*otē latar rē*, underneath the earth.

#### 6. Declination of the noun.

*hopon*, child.

##### *Singular.*

|                                                |                       |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Nom. <i>hopon</i>                              | the child.            |
| Gen. <i>hopon rā</i> or <i>hopon ren, renī</i> | of the child.         |
| Dat. <i>hopon</i> or <i>hopon tē</i>           | to the child.         |
| Acc. <i>hopon</i>                              | the child.            |
| Abl. <i>hopon tē</i>                           | from or by the child. |
| Loc. <i>hopon rē</i>                           | in or on the child.   |
| Voc. <i>oē hopon</i>                           | oh child.             |

##### *Dual.*

|                                             |                              |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Nom. <i>hoponkiy</i>                        | the two children.            |
| Gen. <i>hoponkiy rā</i> or <i>ren, renī</i> | of the two children.         |
| Dat. <i>hoponkiy</i> or <i>tē</i>           | to the two children.         |
| Acc. <i>hoponkiy</i>                        | the two children.            |
| Abl. <i>hoponkiy tē</i>                     | from or by the two children. |
| Loc. <i>hoponkiy rē</i>                     | in or on the two children.   |
| Voc. <i>oē hoponkiy</i>                     | oh ye two children !         |

##### *Plural.*

|                                      |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nom. <i>hoponkū</i>                  | the children.            |
| Gen. <i>hoponkū rā</i> or <i>ren</i> | of the children.         |
| Dat. <i>hoponkū</i> or <i>tē</i>     | to the children.         |
| Acc. <i>hoponkū</i>                  | the children.            |
| Abl. <i>hoponkū tē</i>               | from or by the children. |
| Loc. <i>hoponkū rē</i>               | in or on the children.   |
| Voc. <i>oē hoponkū</i>               | oh children.             |

## CHAPTER III. ADJECTIVES.

7. *General remarks on adjectives.*

Adjectives are subject to no change whatever, they are in reality nouns and are therefore declinable.

*hinī buggī hoṛ īdanā*, he is a good man.

*nihī sadom hetkan īdanā*, this horse is bad.

*nihī maṇḍī sibil koneā*, this meal is not savoury.

*Asur hoṛku hudiṇ īdanākū*, the Asurs are a small people.

*Ranchi rē banā Gomkekū īdanākū*, at Ranchi there are many Sahebs.

*Usul burū*, the high mountain.

Adjectives are formed from nouns by adding the past participle ending of the verb, e.g., *napā*, health, *napākan*, healthy. Verbal adjectives are formed in the same way; example: *rūvā*, to be beaten, *rūvākan*, beaten; *huni napākan hoṛ īdanā*, he is a healthy man. *Hukū rūvākan mudaikū īdanākū*, they are beaten enemies.

8. *Comparison of adjectives.*

The degrees of comparison are expressed in the same manner, we find in Hindi and the Kolarian languages, viz., the word compared stands in the nominative and the word with which it is to be compared, is placed in the Ablative case, thus:—

*Iṇā ōrā amā ōrā tē baḍeā*, my house is larger than your's.

*Sadom tē hāthī dāriā*, the elephant is stronger than the horse.

*Iṇā seṇot sanamkū tē usulai*, my daughter is the tallest (taller than all).

## CHAPTER IV. PRONOUNS.

9. *Personal pronouns.*

| <i>Singular.</i>     | <i>Dual.</i>                 | <i>Plural.</i>           |
|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Iṇ</i> , I.    | <i>aliṇ</i> , we two.        | <i>alē</i> , we.         |
| 2. <i>am</i> , thou. | <i>alay</i> , I and you two. | <i>abū</i> , we and you. |
|                      | <i>aban</i> , you two.       | <i>apē</i> , you.        |
|                      | <i>akiṇ</i> , they two.      |                          |

From the above it will be seen that in the Dual and the Plural there are two forms of the second person, the first excluding and the second including the speaker. On the other hand the third person is wanting and the demonstrative pronoun is used instead.

10. *Declination of the first person singular.*

|                                    |                  |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Nom. <i>īḡ</i>                     | I.               |
| Gen. <i>īḡā</i> or <i>īḡrenī</i>   | of me, my, mine. |
| Dat. <i>īḡ</i> or <i>īḡ etē</i>    | to me.           |
| Acc. <i>īḡ</i>                     | me.              |
| Abl. <i>īḡ tē</i> or <i>īḡ etē</i> | from or by me.   |
| Loc. <i>īḡ rē</i>                  | in me.           |

*Dual, first person.*

|                                      |                      |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Nom. <i>aliḡ</i>                     | we two.              |
| <i>alaḡ</i>                          | I and you two.       |
| Gen. <i>aliḡā</i> or <i>rā, renī</i> | of us two, our.      |
| <i>alaḡā</i> or <i>rā, renī</i>      | of me and you two.   |
| Dat. <i>aliḡ</i> or <i>aliḡ tē</i>   | to us two.           |
| <i>alaḡ</i> or <i>alaḡ tē</i>        | to me and you two.   |
| Acc. <i>aliḡ</i>                     | us two.              |
| <i>alaḡ</i>                          | me and you two.      |
| Abl. <i>aliḡ tē</i>                  | from us two.         |
| <i>alaḡ tē</i>                       | from me and you two. |
| Loc. <i>aliḡ rē</i>                  | in us two.           |
| <i>alaḡ rē</i>                       | in me and you two.   |

*Plural, first person.*

|                                              |                              |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Nom. <i>Alē</i>                              | we.                          |
| <i>abū</i>                                   | we all, addressees included. |
| Gen. <i>alēā</i> or <i>rā</i> or <i>renī</i> | of us, our.                  |
| <i>abūā</i> or <i>rā</i> or <i>renī</i>      | of us all, our      do.      |
| Dat. <i>alē</i> or <i>tē</i>                 | to us.                       |
| <i>abū</i> or <i>tē</i>                      | to us all      do.           |
| Acc. <i>alē</i>                              | us.                          |
| <i>abū</i>                                   | us all      do.              |
| Abl. <i>alē tē</i>                           | from us.                     |
| <i>abū tē</i>                                | from us all      do.         |
| Loc. <i>alē rē</i>                           | in us.                       |
| <i>abū rē</i>                                | in us all      do.           |

11. *Second person singular.*

|                                                 |                      |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Nom. <i>am</i>                                  | thou.                |
| Gen. <i>amā</i> or <i>amrā</i> or <i>amrenī</i> | of thee, thy, thine. |
| Dat. <i>amā</i> or <i>amātē</i>                 | to thee.             |
| Acc. <i>am</i>                                  | thee.                |
| Abl. <i>amā tē</i> or <i>amāetē</i>             | from or by thee.     |
| Loc. <i>amā rē</i>                              | in thee.             |
| J. 1. 21                                        |                      |

*Dual, second person.*

|                                 |               |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Nom. <i>aban</i>                | you two.      |
| Gen. <i>abanā, abanrā, renī</i> | of you two.   |
| Dat. <i>aban, aban tē</i>       | to you two.   |
| Acc. <i>aban</i>                | you two.      |
| Abl. <i>aban tē</i>             | from you two. |
| Loc. <i>abran rē</i>            | in you two.   |

*Plural, second person.*

|                                  |           |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| Nom. <i>apē</i>                  | you.      |
| Gen. <i>apēā, rā, renī</i>       | of you.   |
| Dat. <i>apē</i> or <i>apēātē</i> | to you.   |
| Acc. <i>apē</i>                  | you.      |
| Abl. <i>apēatē</i>               | from you. |
| Loc. <i>apē rē</i>               | in you.   |

12. *Demonstrative pronouns.*

Proximate : *hinī*, this, he, she, it ; also *minī*.

remote : *hunī*, that, he, she, it ; also *munī*.

proximate : *niḥī, nia, neu, minā*, this, it.

They are used both for rational and irrational beings.

Proximate : *hikū, nikū*, these ; *hikiṇ*, these two.

remote : *hukū, nukū*, those ; *hukiṇ*, those two.

13. *Declination of the demonstrative pronoun.*

|                                     |                             |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Gen. <i>hinīā, rā, renī</i>         | of him, his, her, of this ; |
| „ <i>hunīā, rā, renī</i>            | of him, his, her, of that ; |
| „ <i>niḥā, neā, nerā, niherenī</i>  | of this, of that ;          |
| „ <i>hikūā, rā, renī</i>            | of these, of them, their ;  |
| „ <i>hukūā, rā, renī</i>            | of those, of them, their ;  |
| „ <i>hikiṇā, rā, renī</i>           | of these two, their ;       |
| „ <i>hukiṇā, rā, renī</i>           | of those two, their ;       |
| Acc. and Dat. <i>hinī tē</i> , etc. | to him, from him ;          |
| Loc. <i>hunī rē</i>                 | in him.                     |

14. *Examples on the use of pronouns.*

*iṇā aḍḍē vejumē*, come to me (my place come) ;

*amā ōrā okoā rē* ? Where is thy house ?

*hinīā sētā aguimē*, bring his dog ;

*niḥā sadom okoerā idanā* ? To whom belongs this horse ?

*niḥī hoṇ ovaimē*, give to this man ;

*hunī Asur kunia*, he is no Asur ;

*minī dukmā kākē tuanā*, he can't speak the language ;

*minā citan vatu* ? Which village is this ?

*hikūrā sadom nyelēmē*, look after their horse.

*hukurā meromkū kūl hablīdiā*, their goats were destroyed by the tiger.

*nukiṅ hoṛ renī kūrī horkiṅ okoā rē*, where are the wives of those two men ?

### 15. *Relative pronouns.*

There appear to be no relative pronouns. The Asur simply relates the facts as they occurred and does not care to combine them in any way; thus the sentence: The man died who came yesterday, he will simply render by relating first that the man came and then that he died: *Hor vedyanā hunī godyonā*, *lit.* man came, that died.

### 16. *Interrogative pronouns.*

These are *okoe* who, which, what ;

*oko* which, what ;

*citan* which, what ; also *okin*, how.

The declination is regular :

*okoe rā, renī* ; *okoe tī* ; *okoe rē* ;

*okoe vedlenā*, who came ?

*okoe tē vejuyanā*, where did you come from ?

*okoe nyelkedā*, who saw it ?

*am citan koeyanā*, what do you want ?

These pronouns are used also of course as pronominal adjectives, in which case they retain their form: *okoe kūrī vejuyanā* ? What woman was coming ? *Hunī oko orā rē dohótanā* ? In which house is he staying ? *Okin saṅiṅā* ? How far will it be ?

When the question is put to somebody, whether he should like to do such and such a thing, *ci kā* is generally added to the question; e.g., Will you buy this ? *Niā tilaiyā ci kā* ? Is there water and fuel at your village ? *Amā vatū rē da'a idanā ci kā* ? *ci kā* meaning "or not." Where we however would use in a sentence "or not" it is expressed in Asur by *ci konā* or *kuniā*, e.g., Will you obey my order or not ? *Iṅā dukmā sāriyā ci konā* ? Do you know (can you speak) Hindi or not ? *Am Sadān dukmā dāriā ci konā* ?

### 17. *Indefinite pronouns.*

For the indefinite pronouns "anyone" and "anything" the demonstrative pronouns *okoe* and *okō* are used, besides *okō* for "any" and "some" :

*Orā rē okoe idanā* ? Is there anybody at home ?

*Okā hetā hejomē*, come at any time.

*Okā okā helā kūl heṅuā*, sometimes the tiger comes.



“Something” and “anything” is also expressed by *citan* :

*Amā citanā idanā* ? Have you anything ? (*lit.* of thee, thine anything is) ?

### 18. *List of names of relatives.*

There is also in Asur the curious method of combining the *pronomen possessivum* with the names of parents, children and relatives in general. As the Asur *dukma* is rather rich in these names, a list of the principal is given below :—

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Iḡā āpuḡ</i>   | my father.          |
| „ <i>hālāḡ</i>    | „ grand-father.     |
| „ <i>huniḡ</i>    | „ elder brother.    |
| „ <i>duiḡ</i>     | „ elder sister.     |
| „ <i>gungumiḡ</i> | „ father's brother. |
| „ <i>hāloniḡ</i>  | „ father's sister.  |
| „ <i>hoponiḡ</i>  | „ son.              |
| „ <i>hudiḡ</i>    | „ grand-son.        |
| „ <i>teḡamiḡ</i>  | „ son-in-law.       |
| „ <i>huhḡ</i>     | „ brother-in-law.   |
| „ <i>eḡāiḡ</i>    | „ mother.           |
| „ <i>jīaḡ</i>     | „ grand-mother.     |
| „ <i>boyoḡ</i>    | „ younger brother.  |
| „ <i>bokkōniḡ</i> | „ younger sister.   |
| „ <i>hiliḡ</i>    | „ mother's brother. |
| „ <i>daimiḡ</i>   | „ mother's sister.  |
| „ <i>teḡotiḡ</i>  | „ daughter.         |
| „ <i>katiḡ</i>    | „ grand-daughter.   |
| „ <i>kūriḡ</i>    | „ daughter-in-law.  |
| „ <i>iḡadiḡ</i>   | „ sister-in-law.    |

## CHAPTER V. ON THE VERB.

### 19. *On tense characteristics.*

The Asur *dukma* has strictly speaking only 4 tenses : the present, the imperfect, the past or perfect, and the future.

The present tense active and neuter voice add *tanā* or *ā* to the root : *nyeltanā*, I am seeing ; *druptanā*, I am sitting ; *īdan-ā* (*īdanā*), I am being ; and *yanā* and *tadā* for the indefinite : *botoyanā*, it is hot ; *rabay yanā*, it is cold ; *sentadā*, I go ; *jomtadā*, I eat.

The imperfect of transitive verbs adds to the root *ldiā*, *lidiā*, *lā* ; that of intransitive verbs adds *lenā* and *yanā* : *senlenā*, I was going ; *dohōlenā*, I was remaining ; *dukmalidiā*, was speaking ; *ovāldiā*, was giving.

The perfect adds to the root the following tense characteristics : *ā, kedā, ked, ledā, ya, yanā, kan, kanā* : *jomkedā*, I have eaten ; *vejukanā*, I have come ; *senyanā*, have gone ; *duk māyanā*, have been called.

The future adds *eā, eyā* or *yā* and in some words *nā* : *seneā*, I shall go ; *duk māyā*, shall speak ; *ragēyā*, shall call ; *rūeā*, shall beat.

With regard to the future tense it must be observed, that the Asur will never employ the present, as is done in English, when in reality the future is meant ; for example "Can you do this ?" or "Do you know this ?" must be rendered by using the future tense : *Nihi kameyā* ? *Nihi tuanā* ? "I go home this year." *Neā mēs rē ōrā tē senōain*, *lit.* this year in house to I will go.

## 20. On participles.

The adverbial participle adds *rē* to the root of the verb : *nyūe rē godyanā*, he died drinking, in the act of drinking.

In the present participle the stem is repeated and then *tē* is added : *jomjomtē*, eating ; *nyel nyel tē*, seeing.

The past perfect participle adds *kan* and *tē* to the root : *jomkante*, having eaten ; also *len*, e.g., *senlen tē jomeā*, having gone, I will eat ; *vejkantē*, having come.

The conjunctive participle adds *ked tē* and *tē* to the root of the verb : *jomked tē* after having eaten ; *nyeltē*, after having seen.

## 21. On the infinitive and conditional.

The infinitive adds *ta'ā* to the root of the verb : *nyuta'ā*, to drink ; *drupta'ā*, to sit ; *nyelta'ā*, to see ; *jomtu'ā*, to eat.

The conditional adds *rē* together with the particle *dō* which is similar to the Hindi "*tō*," e.g., *iyā sen rēdō bēseyā*, if I go, it will be well ; *hunī vejā rēdō nelēyā*, if he had come, he would have seen ; *iy rūrēdo*, if I beat ; *bugē lekā tē kāmē rē dō-amā pairā yameā*, if you work well, you will receive money ; *tē* also is used for the conditional, e.g., *amā tudetē iy rageyā*, if I knew thee, I would have called thee *lit.* from knowing thee I shall call thee.

## 22. On the passive voice.

Little is to be said with regard to the passive voice. For the present tense *oā* or *vā* is added to the root : *rūvātānā*, I am beaten. In the past tense it is *rūvāyanā*, I was beaten ; and in the future *vā* or *goā* is simply added to the root instead of *eā* in the active and neuter verb : *rūgoā*, I shall be beaten.

## 23. General remarks.

The noun of agency is formed by adding *ae* to the root, which is repeated : *jojomae*, eater ; *rūrūae*, beater. Nouns are formed from

the verb by dropping the ending of the infinitive: *dukmāta'ā*, to speak; *dukmā*, speech; *jojom*, food, from *jomta'ā*, to eat is an exception.

In conjugation the pronominal termination of the subject is added to the inflectional ending of the verb, but this principle is not so universally applied in the Asur Dukmā as for example in the Mundari language.

24. *Conjugation of the verb: rūta'a, to beat.*

Present tense: I beat or I am beating.

|       |      |                                        |                            |
|-------|------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sing. | 1.   | <i>iṅ rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanaṅ</i>     | I am beating.              |
|       | 2.   | <i>am rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanam</i>     | thou art beating.          |
|       | 3.   | <i>hunī rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanāe</i>   | he, she, it is beating.    |
| Dual. | 1.   | <i>aliṅ rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanāliṅ</i> | we two are beating.        |
|       | 1+2. | <i>abaṅ rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanālaṅ</i> | I and you two are beating. |
|       | 2.   | <i>aban rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanāban</i> | you two are beating.       |
| Plur. | 3.   | <i>akiṅ rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanākiṅ</i> | they two are beating.      |
|       | 1.   | <i>alē rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanālē</i>   | we are beating.            |
|       | 1+2. | <i>abū rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanābū</i>   | we and you are beating.    |
|       | 2.   | <i>apē rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanāpē</i>   | you are beating.           |
|       | 3.   | <i>hukū rūtanā</i> or <i>rūtanākū</i>  | they are beating.          |

25. *Imperfect tense: I beat or was beating.*

|       |      |                                          |                             |
|-------|------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sing. | 1.   | <i>iṅ rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiāṅ</i>     | I was beating.              |
|       | 2.   | <i>am rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiām</i>     | thou wast beating.          |
|       | 3.   | <i>hunī rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiāe</i>   | he was beating.             |
| Dual. | 1.   | <i>aliṅ rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiāliṅ</i> | we two were beating.        |
|       | 1+2. | <i>alaṅ rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiālāṅ</i> | I and you two were beating. |
|       | 2.   | <i>aban rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiāban</i> | you two were beating.       |
| Plur. | 3.   | <i>akiṅ rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiākiṅ</i> | they two were beating.      |
|       | 1.   | <i>alē rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiālē</i>   | we were beating.            |
|       | 1+2. | <i>abū rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiābū</i>   | we and you were beating.    |
|       | 2.   | <i>apē rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiāpē</i>   | you were beating.           |
|       | 3.   | <i>hukū rūlidiā</i> or <i>rūlidiākū</i>  | they were beating.          |

The imperfect may be formed also with the auxiliary *dohótanā*, *iṅ rū dohókedaiṅ*, etc.

26. *Perfect tense: I have beaten.*

|       |      |                                        |                            |
|-------|------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sing. | 1.   | <i>iṅ rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedāṅ</i>     | I have beaten.             |
|       | 2.   | <i>am rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedām</i>     | thou hast beaten.          |
|       | 3.   | <i>hunī rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedāe</i>   | he has beaten.             |
| Dual. | 1.   | <i>aliṅ rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedāliṅ</i> | we two have beaten.        |
|       | 1+2. | <i>alaṅ rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedālaṅ</i> | I and you two have beaten. |
|       | 2.   | <i>aban rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedāban</i> | you two have beaten.       |
|       | 3.   | <i>akiṅ rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedākiṅ</i> | they two have beaten.      |

|       |      |                                       |                         |
|-------|------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Plur. | 1.   | <i>alē rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedālē</i>  | we have beaten.         |
|       | 1+2. | <i>abū rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedābū</i>  | we and you have beaten. |
|       | 2.   | <i>apē rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedāpē</i>  | you have beaten.        |
|       | 3.   | <i>hukū rūkedā</i> or <i>rūkedākū</i> | they have beaten.       |

27. *Future tense: I shall beat.*

|       |      |                                      |                            |
|-------|------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sing. | 1.   | <i>iṅ rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyāiṅ</i>    | I shall beat.              |
|       | 2.   | <i>am rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyām</i>     | thou wilt beat.            |
|       | 3.   | <i>hunī rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyāe</i>   | he will beat.              |
| Dual. | 1.   | <i>aliṅ rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyāliṅ</i> | we two shall beat.         |
|       | 1+2. | <i>alaṅ rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyāliṅ</i> | we and you two shall beat. |
|       | 2.   | <i>aban rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyāban</i> | you two will beat.         |
|       | 3.   | <i>akiṅ rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyākiṅ</i> | they two will beat.        |
| Plur. | 1.   | <i>alē rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyālē</i>   | we shall beat.             |
|       | 1+2. | <i>abū rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyabū</i>   | we and you shall beat.     |
|       | 2.   | <i>apē rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyāpē</i>   | you will beat.             |
|       | 3.   | <i>hukū rūeyā</i> or <i>rūeyākū</i>  | they will beat.            |

The past future is formed with the help of the auxiliary *cabta'ā*:  
*iṅ rūcabe'aiṅ*, I shall or will have beaten.

28. *Conjugation of the conditional.*

|       |    |                                         |                   |
|-------|----|-----------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Sing. | 1. | <i>iṅ rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōiṅ</i>     | if I beat.        |
|       | 2. | <i>am rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōam</i>     | if thou beat.     |
|       | 3. | <i>hunī rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōāe</i>   | if he beat.       |
| Dual. | 1. | <i>aliṅ rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōaliṅ</i> | if we two beat.   |
|       | 2. | <i>aban rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōaban</i> | if you two beat.  |
|       | 3. | <i>akiṅ rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōakiṅ</i> | if they two beat. |
| Plur. | 1. | <i>alē rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōalē</i>   | if we beat.       |
|       | 2. | <i>apē rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōapē</i>   | if you beat.      |
|       | 3. | <i>hukū rūrēdō</i> or <i>rūrēdōkū</i>   | if they beat.     |

29. *Conjugation of Passive present: I am beaten or being beaten.*

|                                          |                     |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>iṅ rūvātānā</i> or <i>rūvātānāiṅ</i>  | I am beaten.        |
| <i>am rūvātānā</i> or <i>rūvātānām</i>   | thou art beaten.    |
| <i>hunī rūvātānā</i> or <i>rūvātānāe</i> | he is beaten.       |
| <i>alē rūvātānā</i> or <i>rūvātānālē</i> | we are beaten, etc. |

Past: I was beaten.

|                                            |                     |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>iṅ rūvāyanā</i> or <i>rūvāyanāiṅ</i>    | I was beaten.       |
| <i>am rūvāyanā</i> or <i>rūvāyanām</i>     | thou wast beaten.   |
| <i>aliṅ rūvāyanā</i> or <i>rūvāyanāliṅ</i> | we two were beaten. |
| <i>alē rūvāyanā</i> or <i>rūvāyanālē</i>   | we were beaten.     |
| <i>hukū rūvāyanā</i> or <i>rūvāyanākū</i>  | they were beaten.   |

Future: I shall be beaten.

|                                      |                         |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>iy rūgoā</i> or <i>rūgoāiy</i>    | I shall be beaten.      |
| <i>aliy rūgoā</i> or <i>rūgoāliy</i> | we two shall be beaten. |
| <i>alē rūgoā</i> or <i>rūgoālē</i>   | we shall be beaten.     |

### 30. *The potential.*

For the potential mood *kā* is added to the modified stem of the verb.

|       |                                       |                    |
|-------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Sing. | <i>iy rūēkā</i> or <i>rāēkāiy</i>     | I may beat.        |
|       | <i>am rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkāam</i>     | thou mayst beat.   |
|       | <i>hunī rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkāē</i>    | he may beat.       |
| Dual. | <i>aliy rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkāliy</i>  | we two may beat.   |
|       | <i>aban rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkāaban</i> | you two may beat.  |
|       | <i>akiy rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkākiy</i>  | they two may beat. |
| Plur. | <i>alē rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkālē</i>    | we may beat.       |
|       | <i>apē rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkāpē</i>    | you may beat.      |
|       | <i>hukū rūēkā</i> or <i>rūēkākū</i>   | they may beat.     |

The verb *tuainā*, "knowing" is frequently used in the sense of a potential; e.g.,

|                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>iy seneā tuainā</i>      | I will be able to go;   |
| <i>iy kaiy seneā tuainā</i> | I will be unable to go. |
| <i>Hunī dukmā kē tuainā</i> | he cannot speak Asur.   |

It is used also as a permissive :

*iy jīb jom tuainā*, I can, i.e., I am permitted to eat meat.

### 31. *The Imperative.*

The imperative is the same as in Muṣḍāri, with this difference that for the sake of euphony the imperative endings *mē* and *pē* and *kā* are often preceded by the vowel *e*.

|       |                                     |                                |
|-------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Sing. | 2. <i>rūemē</i>                     | beat thou or <i>am rūēmē</i> . |
|       | 3. <i>rūēkāē</i>                    | may he beat.                   |
| Dual. | 2. <i>rūēban</i>                    | you two beat.                  |
|       | 3. <i>rūēkākiy</i>                  | may they two beat.             |
| Plur. | 2. <i>rūēpē</i> or <i>apē rūēpē</i> | you beat.                      |
|       | 3. <i>rūēkākū</i>                   | may they beat.                 |

## CHAPTER VII. NEGATIVES, COMPOUNDS, CAUSALS, ETC.

### 32. *Verbs with the negative.*

There are in the Asur dukmā three negatives which can be connected with any verb, viz., *kā*, not; *alōkā*, may not and *alō*, do not.

|                                           |                     |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>kāiy rūēāiy</i> or <i>iy kā rūēāiy</i> | I will not beat.    |
| <i>kām rūēām</i> or <i>am kā rūēām</i>    | thou will not beat. |
| <i>kāē rūēāē</i> or <i>hunī kā rūēāē</i>  | he will not beat.   |

|                                        |                      |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Alōkuṛiṅ rūēaiṅ</i> or <i>rūēgō</i> | I may not beat.      |
| <i>alōkam rūēam</i> or <i>rūēgō</i>    | thou mayst not beat. |
| <i>alōkāe rūēāe</i> or <i>rūēgō</i>    | he may not beat.     |
| <i>alom rūēmē</i>                      | do not beat, (thou). |
| <i>alōpē rūēpē</i>                     | do not beat, (you).  |

*kā* is often employed in the sense of “not” in connection with adjectives; e.g., *kā parilā*, not good, i.e., bad, *kā* answers therefore our usual negative prefix *un*.

### 33. *Examples of verbs combined with negatives.*

|                           |                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>iṅ kāiṅ jomtānāiṅ</i>  | I do not eat.        |
| <i>am kām jomtanām</i>    | thou dost not eat.   |
| <i>apē kāpē jomtanāpē</i> | you do not eat.      |
| <i>iṅ kāiṅ senā</i>       | I will not go.       |
| <i>āle kāle senā</i>      | they will not go.    |
| <i>āpe kāpe senā</i>      | you will not go.     |
| <i>alōkāiṅ senā</i>       | I may not go.        |
| <i>alōkākū senā</i>       | they may not go.     |
| <i>alom jommē</i>         | do not eat.          |
| <i>alōkākhū jomeā</i>     | do not let them eat. |
| <i>alōkāe vejā</i>        | do not let him come. |
| <i>alom senōāe</i>        | do not let go.       |

### 34. *Agreement of the verb with its object.*

The curious peculiarity of making the active verb to agree with its object, found in the Kolarian languages, is also met with in Asur; for example :

|                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>hunī kulkiṅāe</i>      | he sent me.         |
| <i>hunī kulkeḍmeāe</i>    | he sent thee.       |
| <i>hunī kulkeḍiā</i>      | he sent him.        |
| <i>iṅā alom rūiṅmē</i>    | do not beat me.     |
| <i>hunī alom rūiemē</i>   | do not beat him.    |
| <i>aliṅ rūkiṅ pē</i>      | beat them (two).    |
| <i>hunī kulkeḍkūāe</i>    | he sent them.       |
| <i>ovāiṅmē</i>            | give me.            |
| <i>ovālemē</i>            | give us.            |
| <i>duk māetanāiṅ</i>      | I am saying to him. |
| <i>hunī duk māḱūtānāe</i> | he says to them.    |

### 35. *Compound verbs.*

Compound verbs are frequently used in the Asur dukmā; a noun being followed by the verb *dohóteā*, to be, to remain; e.g. :

|                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>iṅ hāsu dohótanā</i>    | I am ill; <i>lit.</i> I pain remain |
| <i>hunī hāsu dohótanāe</i> | he is ill.                          |



*iṅ hāsu dohólenā* or *dohólenaiṅ*  
*am hāsu dohólenā* or *dohólenam*  
*alē hāsu dohókedaḷē*  
*hukū hasu dohókedaḷkū*  
*raṇet',* hunger: *raṇet'yanaiṅ*

I was ill.  
 thou wast ill.  
 we were ill.  
 they were ill.  
 I was hungry, poor; *lit.* I  
 hunger was.

*rabar,* cold: *rabarṭanā*  
*lōlō,* hot or heat, *lōlō tanaiṅ*  
*iṅ raṇet dohóeyaiṅ*

it is cold.  
 I feel hot.  
 I shall be hungry.

There are many verbs combined with the word *rúar*, back; which is conjugated regularly.

Sen *rūaryanaiṅ*  
*apē sen ruarṭē*  
*hukū dukmā rūarkedākū*

I returned.  
 come ye back, return.  
 they replied, answered.

### 36. Causal verbs

are formed by the insertion of the particle *gē* between the root of the verb and its termination; example:

*iṅ druptanāiṅ*  
*iṅ drupgētanaṅ*  
*nyuemē,* drink! *nyūyegēmē*  
*jommē,* eat! *jomgēmē*  
*nirēmē,* run! *niregēmē*

I am sitting.  
 I make to sit.  
 make to drink!  
 feed!  
 cause to run!

Causals of course are formed also by different words:

*hukāyēmē,* hide; intr. *horogēmē,* hide; trans. *gitiyēmē,* sleep;  
 intr. *konyonemē,* make to sleep; *raputeā,* to break; intr.  
*raputendemē,* break; trans. *giyēmē,* cut; trans. *magēmē,* make  
 to cut.

The completive is *cabā*: *Hunī jomcabāyanā,* he has finished eating;  
*hukū rūcabākedākū,* they have ceased beating.

### 37. Defective verbs

"*tanā*" is only used as inflectional ending in the verb of the present tense, meaning "to be" "*īdanā*" to be, as a rule is likewise employed only in the present tense sing. and plur. It is often employed where we use the verb to have: *amā adḍē paisā īdanā?* have you money? *lit.* is there money with you?

*apē cimin hor īdanā*  
*amā hoponku īdanā*

how many men are you?  
 have you children?

The verb used to make good for the want of the auxiliary verb to be is *dohóta'ā*, to remain; which is used also in the present tense.

|                           |                |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>iṅ Asur dohótanāiṅ</i> | I am an Asur.  |
| <i>iṅ hāsu dohólenā</i>   | I was ill.     |
| <i>iṅ rū dohōkedā</i>     | I was beating. |

In fact it is with the help of *dohóta'ā* that those tenses may be made up in Asur which otherwise are wanting.

### 38. The verb : not to be.

The counterpart of *īdanā* is *konoā* and *konā*, not to be: *iṅ Asur kuniā*, I am not an Asur. *Kuniā*, not to be present: *Sāheb kuniā*, the Saheb is not present. *Kuneā*, will not be present. *Amā haḍḍā īdanā ci konoā*, have you oxen or not? *Orā rē okoe īdanā ci konoā?* Is there somebody at home or not? *Okoe kuniā*, there is nobody (man) present. *Iṅā aḍḍē paisā konā*, I have no money; *lit.* with me there is no pice.

## CHAPTER VIII. ADVERBS.

### 39. Adverbs of time.

|                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>enan</i>      | just now.       |
| <i>nahā</i>      | now.            |
| <i>niho</i>      | then.           |
| <i>bārhiṅ</i>    | now-a-days.     |
| <i>okā helā</i>  | sometimes.      |
| <i>tihīṅ</i>     | to-day.         |
| <i>holā</i>      | yesterday.      |
| <i>gapā</i>      | to-morrow.      |
| <i>musiṅ</i>     | one day.        |
| <i>bārsiṅ</i>    | two days.       |
| <i>nēs</i>       | this year.      |
| <i>hon kalom</i> | last year.      |
| <i>baggī</i>     | time.           |
| <i>orte rē</i>   | once, one time. |
| <i>auri</i>      | not yet.        |

### 40. Adverbs of place and manner.

|                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>nenē, nendē</i>     | here.            |
| <i>honhon rē</i>       | beyond.          |
| <i>nenētē</i>          | from here.       |
| <i>hondē</i>           | there, thither.  |
| <i>okoārē, okoā tē</i> | where, whither.  |
| <i>hinad rē, himā</i>  | near.            |
| <i>saṅiṅ</i>           | far.             |
| <i>bekar; kudahā</i>   | very; very much. |

|                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>nimin, nimin rē</i> | this many, much. |
| <i>hinā rē</i>         | namely.          |
| <i>numun, numun rē</i> | thus.            |
| <i>nūi lekā tē</i>     | in this way.     |
| <i>oko lekā tē</i>     | somehow, anyhow. |
| <i>thaukā</i>          | well, exactly.   |
| <i>rokē, rokē rokē</i> | quickly.         |

41. *Adverbs of affirmation and negation.*

|                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>ā</i>          | yes.               |
| <i>koan, kuan</i> | no, not.           |
| <i>gē</i>         | indeed, certainly. |
| <i>alō</i>        | do not.            |

42. *Elliptical sentences.*

Of these the following may be mentioned with the adverbs, *viz.*,  
*ebā*, come here ; *dolā*, come along ; *itū*, who knows.

|                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Citanā ci lekā !</i> | What can be done !      |
| <i>Citan ciliyanā ?</i> | What or how do you do ? |
| <i>jojom tē</i>         | right hand.             |
| <i>lengū tē</i>         | left hand.              |

CHAPTER IX. NUMERALS, POSTPOSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS  
AND INTERJECTIONS.

43. *A. Numerals (Cardinals).*

The Asur can only count up to four.

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| <i>mīad</i>  | one.   |
| <i>bariā</i> | two.   |
| <i>pēā</i>   | three. |
| <i>upun</i>  | four,  |

which are used for all genders : *pēā horkū*, three men ; *pēā haddā*, three oxen.

For the rest the Asur employs Hindi numerals ; for twenty *kūri* is used : *mīad kūri*, one score.

44. *B. Ordinals.*

The Asur *dukumā* has only three ordinals, *viz.* :

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| <i>sidā</i>  | first.  |
| <i>eṣā</i>   | second. |
| <i>mandē</i> | third.  |

For single *ōṭay* ; for both *bannar* is used.

|              |      |
|--------------|------|
| <i>sanam</i> | all. |
|--------------|------|

45. *Postposition 5.*

|                           |                       |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>maraj rē</i>           | in front, before.     |
| <i>taiyom rē</i>          | after, near.          |
| <i>usul rē</i>            | on, above.            |
| <i>latar rē, otē rē</i>   | under, underneath.    |
| <i>adde, tūlē (urāon)</i> | with, by, along with. |
| <i>gati</i>               | together, in company. |
| <i>minā</i>               | inside.               |
| <i>talā re</i>            | among.                |

46. *Conjunctions and Interjections.*

|                    |    |                                 |
|--------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| <i>gā, egā</i>     |    | for.                            |
| <i>hinā gē</i>     |    | therefore.                      |
| <i>nihī ra'atē</i> |    | for this reason.                |
| <i>niā mentē</i>   |    | for that.                       |
| <i>hentē</i>       |    | therefore.                      |
| <i>enan—miyan:</i> |    | when—then.                      |
| <i>ci—kā</i>       | }: | or—not.                         |
| <i>ci—koan</i>     |    |                                 |
| <i>nīho</i>        |    | then, thereupon.                |
| <i>hed, orō</i>    |    | and.                            |
| <i>hed tē</i>      |    | and then, from then, thereupon. |
| <i>pa'en</i>       |    | but.                            |
| <i>hōn</i>         |    | even.                           |

*o'e* in addressing, oh; *kó* is added in calling or shouting. *Asur rā orā rē alom bolō kó*, do not enter the house of the Asur. *ju, ju ju!* Go, be off! *kó*, halloh!

## CHAPTER X. THE ASUR DUKMĀ A KOLARIAN DIALECT.

47. *Similarity with Muṇḍārī and Santhālī.*

A glance at the preceding pages will convince the student of Kolarian languages that in the Asur Dukmā we have to deal with a Kolarian dialect pure and simple.

The declination of the noun and pronoun, the conjugation of the verb, the dual number, the manner in which the verb is made to agree with the object, the similarity of the pronouns and numerals as well as of the postpositions and conjunctions, all these characterize the Asur Dukmā as a Kolarian Dialect.

Moreover if I were to prove this fact by a Vocabulary, I might simply take out four-fifths of the Muṇḍārī or Santhālī vocabulary. Yet

there are differences between Asur and other Kolarian languages, peculiarities, which it will be worth while to notice.

#### 48. *Differences with Muṇḍārī.*

Wherever a Muṇḍārī word begins with the consonant *h*, the Asur has *v*; e.g.:

|                         |                    |          |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------|
| Muṇḍārī : <i>hiju</i> , | Asur : <i>veju</i> | come.    |
| „ <i>hātu</i> ,         | „ <i>vātu</i>      | village. |

The Asur is fond of the *y* before vowels as against the Muṇḍārī :

|                      |                  |                |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Muṇḍārī <i>nel</i> ; | Asur <i>nyel</i> | see.           |
| „ <i>nutum</i> ;     | „ <i>nyumun</i>  | name.          |
| „ <i>nam</i> ;       | „ <i>yam</i>     | to seek, find. |

Other differences may be seen from the following words :—

|                        |                      |                         |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Muṇḍārī : <i>hon</i> ; | Asur : <i>hopon</i>  | child.                  |
| „ <i>hoṛō</i> ;        | „ <i>hor</i>         | man.                    |
| „ <i>kulā</i> ;        | „ <i>kūl</i>         | tiger.                  |
| „ <i>dub</i> ;         | „ <i>drup</i>        | sit.                    |
| „ <i>reṇē</i> ;        | „ <i>ranget</i>      | hunger.                 |
| „ <i>jilū</i> ;        | „ <i>jil</i>         | flesh.                  |
| „ <i>om</i> ;          | „ <i>ovat</i>        | give.                   |
| „ <i>gitil</i> ;       | „ <i>bitil</i>       | sand.                   |
| „ <i>akō</i> ;         | „ <i>hukū</i>        | they.                   |
| „ <i>ko</i> ;          | „ <i>kū</i>          | plural ending in arms.  |
| „ <i>etkan</i> ;       | „ <i>hetkan</i>      | bad, evil.              |
| „ <i>ni</i> ;          | „ <i>hinī</i>        | this (man).             |
| „ <i>neā</i> ;         | „ <i>huni</i>        | that.                   |
| „ <i>ne</i> ;          | „ <i>nihī</i>        | this.                   |
| „ <i>nā</i> ;          | „ <i>nahā</i>        | now.                    |
| „ <i>tisiy</i> ;       | „ <i>tihiy</i>       | to-day.                 |
| „ <i>otē</i> ;         | „ <i>ōt</i>          | earth, field.           |
| „ <i>hanāṭiy</i> ;     | „ <i>hāṭiy</i>       | portion.                |
| „ <i>nērē, entē</i> ;  | „ <i>nēnē, hondē</i> | here, there.            |
| „ <i>aḍeā</i> ;        | „ <i>ad</i>          | lose.                   |
| „ <i>apīā</i> ;        | „ <i>pēā</i>         | three.                  |
| „ <i>hēr</i> ;         | „ <i>rērē</i>        | sow.                    |
| „ <i>calom</i> ;       | „ <i>caulom</i>      | tail.                   |
| „ <i>bāyar</i> ;       | „ <i>bāver</i>       | rope.                   |
| „ <i>atom</i> ;        | „ <i>hātom</i>       | aunt (father's sister). |
| „ <i>ged cut</i> ;     | „ <i>ged</i>         | to slaughter, kill.     |

The most striking difference between Muṇḍārī and Asur appears to be that the auxiliary verbs are different from each other ; for whilst the former has *menā* to be, the latter has *īdanā* ; and for the negative

“not to be” we find *banōā* and *konoā* respectively, the latter being only found in the Munḍārī patois spoken round about Ranchi. Whilst Munḍārī has *taikenā* for was or remained, the Asur has *dohólenā*. Even where words in Asur seem to be identical with the corresponding Munḍārī words, there is this difference between them that the Asur uses them in a more general sense, than the Munḍā does; e.g., *rū* is in Munḍārī to play (beat) the drum, also to beat with a stick; but in Asur it means only to beat, strike; *sārī*, to play; but in Asur it means to rejoice.

#### 49. *Dravidian words in the Asur Dukmā.*

There are doubtless words used in Asur which are Dravidian; however these may have been borrowed from the Orāōns; for example *baigā*, priest is the Orāōn *naigā*; *ēde*, to plant, is the Kurukh *īd*; *eṭā*, second, the Kurukh *enḍtā*; *pōtā*, belly the same as *pōtā*; *pa'en*, *pahen* and *hōn* the emphatic affix are in both languages the same; *eyā*, *īyō*, mother, are apparently of the same origin; *cohṇā*, kiss *conhā*, love, in Kurukh; *ortē rē*, once in Asur and *ort* one in Kurukh; *ṭhaukā*, right; *aḍḍē*, place, also *tūlē*, with *ōṭoy*, single. Some of these are met with also in Munḍārī and it may be a disputable question whether these words are Dravidian or Kolarian; e.g., *aḍḍē*, *ṭhaukā*, *con* = *conhā*, *eyā*.

#### 50. *Genuine Asur words.*

There are many words in Asur which I am unable to derive either from Munḍārī or Kurukh words, for example :

|               |                              |               |                                                                            |
|---------------|------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>hērē</i>   | husks;                       | <i>hurū</i>   | unhusked rice.                                                             |
| <i>lainī</i>  | harlot;                      | <i>anyān</i>  | mercy, kindness.                                                           |
| <i>pārīlā</i> | good;                        | <i>usad</i>   | anger.                                                                     |
| <i>lilai</i>  | distribute;                  | <i>sodor</i>  | arrive, perhaps the seter<br>in Munḍārī.                                   |
| <i>dukmā</i>  | speak;                       | <i>īrī</i>    | conscience, wise (perhaps<br>connected with the Kurukh <i>ērṇā</i> , see.) |
| <i>minā</i>   | inside;                      |               |                                                                            |
| <i>baggi</i>  | for time, season;            | <i>dohō</i>   | remain.                                                                    |
| <i>kaṭiy</i>  | a little;                    | <i>usul</i>   | high.                                                                      |
| <i>nāpā</i>   | well, healthy;               | <i>banāi</i>  | many.                                                                      |
| <i>teṭōt</i>  | daughter;                    | <i>rokē</i>   | quickly.                                                                   |
| <i>hīlī</i>   | uncle (mother's<br>brother); | <i>javar</i>  | gather.                                                                    |
| <i>teyam</i>  | son-in-law;                  | <i>rod</i>    | embrace.                                                                   |
| <i>hātā</i>   | grand-father;                | <i>īdanā</i>  | to be.                                                                     |
| <i>hukī</i>   | brother-in-law &             | <i>īyad</i>   | sister-in-law, etc.                                                        |
| <i>hed</i>    | and;                         | <i>barkiy</i> | now-a-days.                                                                |



|              |         |              |                                                |
|--------------|---------|--------------|------------------------------------------------|
| <i>jadau</i> | cloth ; | <i>nēs</i>   | this year.                                     |
| <i>hinad</i> | near ;  | <i>mande</i> | third.                                         |
| <i>numun</i> | thus ;  | <i>siriṅ</i> | to make merry, which in<br>Santhāl is to sing. |

Bir dō roṅōlenā :                      bir geṭer, geter !  
 ṭhaukā bir roṅōlena :                baṛeā buggi rē.  
 The grass is burning :                grass knack ! crack !  
 Well is the grass burning :        in spendid beauty.

(One of the very few songs of the Asurs.)



*An Inscription of the time of Kapilēndra Dēva of Orissa, from Gōpīnāthapura, District Cuttack. (With an Appendix on the last Hindu Kings of Orissa.)—By BABU MON MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.*

[Read April, 1899.]

This inscription comes from the village Gōpīnāthapura in District Cuttack, Orissa. The village is 13 miles N. E. of the town Kaṭaka, and stands on the Birūpā branch of the river Mahānadi. Its position would be about  $20^{\circ} 31'$  Lat. and  $86^{\circ} 4'$  long. The inscription is on a stone slab attached to the eastern gate of a middle sized temple of Jagannātha. It commemorates the erection of that temple and of the companion temple of Guṇḍicā, where the cars used to be driven to at the time of the great Ratha festival. Both the temples now lie dilapidated, and the car-festival is no longer held.

The stone slab containing the inscription is about  $3'3'' \times 2'6'' \times 6''$ . I edit the inscription from two inked estampages not very well done. The inscription is peculiar at least in one respect. The language is Sanskrit, but the characters are Oṛiyā. As yet this appears to be the earliest known inscription of such a kind.

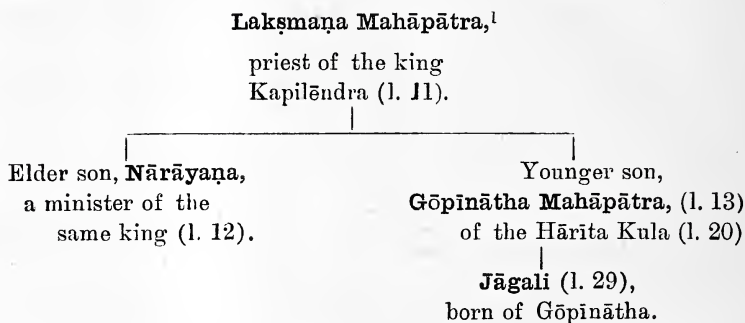
To begin with, the characters generally resemble the modern Oṛiyā letters. Small differences are observable in ca, ja, ḍa, ta, dha, bha, ra, la, ha, and ya, the differences being mainly in the terminal loop. The letter ṭa is still in Kuṭila type. The vowel marks do not differ. The conjunct consonants often differ, in several instances approaching the modern Bengali conjuncts, such as those of ṇ (in ṇka, ṇga), those of y (in sya, dya), those of v (in dhva). The letters are fairly legible, except in the middle and in some of the lower lines. They vary in size, those in the first line being  $1'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ , in the last line  $1\frac{1}{3}'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$ , and elsewhere varying from  $\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$  to  $\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$ . The lines do not run straight, but in a slipshoddy curved way.

The orthography presents no great peculiarity. The *halanta* is generally conjuncted with the initial consonant of the next word (*cf.* ls. 6, 9 and 11); the guttural ṇ is sometimes represented by anusvāra

(*saṅga*, *raṅga* l. 8, *bhaṅgi* l. 20), and sometimes by ण (*niḥṣaṅkaḥ*, *paṅka*, l. 4); the palatal ñ is represented always by anusvāra <sup>1</sup>(*caṁcala* l. 1, *Kāmcīhara* l. 17); the dental n is sometimes represented by anusvāra (*vaṁdīnāṁ* l. 10); the avagraha is sometimes omitted *kālē*(<sup>1</sup>)*rpitā* l. 6, *prasannō*(<sup>1</sup>)*stu* l. 30.

The inscription takes up thirty lines. The language is of the later inflated style. Excepting the invocation and a short passage in line 29, it is entirely in verse, 27 stanzas of various metres. It was composed by Jāgaḷi Kavi, and was inscribed by one Vakākhyā. Many verses show elegance and rhetorical skill.

According to the inscription, the temple of Jaganātha at Gōpīnāthapura was built under the orders of Gōpīnātha Mahāpātra, the minister of the king Kapilēndra *alias* Kapilēṣvara Dēva of Orissa. The inscription mentions Gōpīnātha's genealogy as follows:—



The inscription mentions **Kapilēndra** also as **Kapilēṣvara** (l. 17), and describes him as belonging to the solar line (l. 5) with the title **Bhramaravara** (l. 7). Kapilēndra is said to have defeated and caused terror in the hearts of the kings of **Karṇāṭa**, **Kalavaraga**, **Mālava**, **Gauḍa** and **Philli** (l. 7, cf. also lines 16 to 19). Gōpīnātha is described as having assisted his master materially in the various conquests and to have led an invasion into **Mālavēndra's** territory, crossing many hills (l. 19).

The inscription is undated, but its time can be approximately ascertained. Gōpīnātha's father and elder brother having previously served the same King, Gōpīnātha must have taken service in the latter part of the king's reign. Then again the inroad to Mālava in line 19, verse 16, is apparently identifiable with the invasion of the Orissa

<sup>1</sup> Lakṣmaṇa Mahāpātra, the donor's father is mentioned in another Oṛiyā inscription as the "*purōhita*" or priest of Kapilēṣvara Dēva; cf. my article, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 91-2,

king into Bidar. This invasion is timed by Ferishtah as 1461 A.D.<sup>1</sup> After that some time must have elapsed before the new temple was erected. Hence the date of the inscription might approximately be put at 1465 A.D.

The temple contains the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Bhagavati Subhadra (l. 22, v. 19). It was endowed with gardens, dancing girls, ornaments and servants, &c., (l. 24, v. 21). A Guṇḍicā temple was also built in accompaniment (l. 26, v. 23).

### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

1. 1. Ōm namaḥ Ḍri-Puruṣōttamāya ||  
Maulau cam(ñ)cala-cūlini tilakini bhālē mukhē hāsini kaṇṭhē  
mauktika-mālini malayajaiḥ praty-aṅgam = ālēpini | hastā-  
v(b)jē navanitini caraṇayōḥ kri—
1. 2. -ḍā-rasān = narttini jiyāc = chaṇḍava-ḍōbhini cid-amalā Gōpāṅgan-  
ālingini || [1]  
Samsār-ārṇava-kaṇḍa-dhāram = api tam bhakt-ārtha-saṁsāri-  
nām vandē Ḍri-Puruṣōttamam tanu-bhṛtām saṁkalpa-kalpa-  
drumam | vēdānt-ārtham = udāhara—
1. 3. -nti khalu yaṁ yēn = ākhilam bhāsātē hrṣṭē yatra hrṇiyatē padam  
= api svāyambhuvaṁ dēhinām || [2]  
Sadyaḥ piyūṣa-pātō manasi nayanayōḥ kāma-cintā durantā  
ḡantā kaṣṭam vinaṣṭam janir = ajani satī lav(b)dha—
1. 4. -m = iṣṭam yathēṣṭam | pāpā-kūpāra-pāram gatam = api pitarō  
dhvasta-v(b)andh-ānuv(b)andhā (yēnā) = lōki trilōkī-nilaya-  
maṇir = ayaṁ nila-ḡail-āvatamsaḥ || [3]  
Niḡḡaṇkaḥ paṇka-magn-ākḡhila-dharaṇi-ta—
1. 5. -l-ōddhāra-bhū-dāra-simhaḥ svacchandam Mlēccha-vṛndaṁ prati  
jagati Kalēr = ādya-bhāḡē = pi Kalki | bhāsvad-vaṁḡ-āvat-  
amsas = tri-jagad-adhipater = nila-ḡail-ādhināthasy = ādēḡād =  
Ōdra-dēḡē samaja—
1. 6. -ni Kapilēndr-ābhīdhānō narēndraḥ || [4]  
Sadā-tulita-yat-tulā-puruṣa-dāna-kālē = rpitān = trilōka-vijayā-  
rjitān = kanaka-parvatān = sarvataḥ | vinidram = animēṣ aṇam  
diviṣadaḡ = ciram rakṣitum mila—
1. 7. -nti kanak-ācalē vijayinō = sya dāna-bhramāt || [5]  
Karnāt-ōjjhāsa-simhaḥ Kalavaraga-jayi Mālava-dhvaṁsalilā-  
jaṁghālō Gauḍa-mardi Bhramaravara-nṛpō dhvasta-ḍhill ī-  
ndra-garvaḥ | saṁgrāmē dra—

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone's History of India, Ed. 1874, Appendix, p. 755.

<sup>2</sup> From two ink impressions.

1. 8. -ṣṭum = ēnam pratibhaṭa-subhaṭāḥ kēvalan = tē valantē yēṣām  
syān = nāka-nāri-kuca-kalaṣa-taṭi-kuṅkum-āṅk-[ ā ]ṁga-ram-  
gaḥ || [6]  
Yasy = ōccair = vāji-rāji-vikaṭa-khurapuṭ-ōdghāṭita-kṣauṇi-  
prṣṭha-prādurbhūta-prabhūta—
1. 9. -kṣīti-kaṇa-nikarair = lakṣyamāṇē prayānē | garjad-gambhira-  
bhēri-bhara-rava-vibhav-ākarni-karnā vivarnā murcālāḥ  
kṣauṇi-pālāḥ sapadi samabhavan = kānan-āntē = py = anantē || [7]  
Caṇḍē kō—
1. 10. -daṇḍa-daṇḍē sakṛd = api samarē yasya saṁsakta-kāṇḍē sam-  
varttē sampravṛttē gataṇvati vilayaṁ vairi-jālē karālē | vaṁ(n)-  
dinām krandinīnām nayana-ghana-ghan-ā(ō)tsādyamānair =  
amānair = durvārair = vāri-vārāḥ pratipada-muditō
1. 11. -bhinna-mudraḥ samudraḥ || [8]  
Tasy = āpta-haṁsaḥ sa hi haṁsa-vamṣa-kētōḥ purōdhā ma-  
khakṛd-vataṁsaḥ | vidvān = **Mahāpātra**-kul-āvataṁsaḥ **Ḥri-**  
**Lakṣmaṇō** = bhūt = prathita-praṇaṁsaḥ || [9]  
Mantri-ḥṛēpi-ḥirōmaṇi(ni)ḥ sa(su)manasaḥ santāna-cintā—
1. 12. -maṇiḥ pāpa-vrāja-viṣ-augha-gāruḍa-maṇiḥ sad-vṛtta-rakṣā-  
maṇiḥ | padm-ōllāsa-vilāsa-vāsara-maṇiḥ putrō s sya **Nārā-**  
**yaṇaḥ** satr-ārambha-parāyaṇō s jani jana-trāṇāya Nārāyaṇaḥ ||  
|| [10]  
Yasy = āsid = anu—
1. 13. -jō mataḥ kṣīti-bhujām **Ḥri-Gōpīnāthō Mahāpātraḥ** pātra-jan-  
ārcan-aika-rasikaḥ pātraṁ guṇānām mahat | ḥri-kāntas =  
tanayaṁ kṛtāntam = arayaṣ = cintāmaṇim mārṅgaṇā rājānaḥ  
sura-mantriṇām vidur = amum kā—
1. 14. -ntāḥ-ca kāntam ratēḥ || [11]  
Rājēndrād = adhigamya ṣōḍaṣa vara-cchattrāṇi citrāṇy = asau  
durgēṣu prayatēṣu ṣōḍaṣa mitēṣv = āsid = aram nāyakaḥ |  
va(ba)n-dikṛtya raṇēṣu ṣōḍaṣa nṛpāndrō(mṇ = c = ō?)pāharat =  
svāminē
1. 15. varṣē gacchati ṣōḍaṣē svayam = abhūn = mantr-indra ēkaḥ  
punaḥ || [12]  
Manyē pūrvam = apūrvva-kīrttir = asakṛvid-dvij-āhavē pārvhivān  
= kāruṇy-ākālītā(tō) nutā(n\*) pa(pra)ti-bha(bhu)vō(vām)dēvo  
s bhūd = Bhārgavaḥ | v(b)andī-kṛtya narē—
1. 16. -ndra-maṇḍalam = ayam yad(yō) = Ga(Gō) pinātha-cchalāt = sadyaḥ  
samprati mum(n)cat = iha vitaran svām svām pratiṣṭhām  
punaḥ || [13]  
Kṛtvā samyati **Mālav-ēndra**-jayinaṁ sēu-ādhinātham tu yaṁ  
**Gauḍ-ēndrasya** nitāntam = **Utkala**-patha-prasthāna-rōdh-ā—

1. 17. -rgalaṃ | **Çri-Khaṇḍ-ādri-payō-dhar-ōpari-karaṃ** nirmāya **Kām-(Ñ)ci-haraḥ** sānandaṃ **Kapilēçvarō** viharatē **Karṇāṭa-rāja-çriyā** || [14]  
Cētō-vṛttir = iv = ātmanaḥ suvimalā lōkē = dhikā kirttidā sthir-  
āçaya-rīti-vad = guṇa-ma—
1. 18. -ṇi-çṛṇi = va vistāriṇi | saṃ(sa)nmārg-ānugatā ca santatir = iva  
prāyēṇa santāpināṃ santāp-ōnmathanā kṛpāvad = amunā khātā  
ca khāt-āvali || [15]  
Garv-aughaṃ **Gurjarēndraḥ** pariharati-tarām = āçu **Ḍhilli-Narēndraḥ** sāndrām ta—
1. 19. -ndrām = avindat = kuṇapa-gatim = agād = **Gauḍa-bhūmī-mah-ēndraḥ** | bhū-bhṛn-mālām karālām pathi pathi militām raṃ-  
(ha\*)s = ōllanghya sēnā-nāthē **Çri-Gōpināthē** paribhara(va)ti  
ca tām **Mālav-ēndrasya** gu (?) tām (?) || [16]  
Prāsāda—
1. 20. -m = ētaṃ nayan-ābhirāmaṃ vyadhatta **Hārītakul-āv(b)dhī-candraḥ** | asāra-saṃsāra-gabbhira-panka-niḥçaṅka-niṣkrānty-  
avalamv(b)a-daṇḍam || [17]  
Jiyāt-prāsāda-cūḍā-maṇi-rama-ramaṇēḥ prānta-saṃsakta-bhaṃ-  
(ṇ)gī bhaṃ(ṇ)ga-prāgbhāra-vi(bi)mv(b)a-sphuṭa—
1. 21. -ghaṭita-vṛ(br)hat-manthani maṇḍalikaḥ | uttānaṃ nyasta-mūrt-  
tiḥ prathita-sad-amṛta-prāptik-ārthō bhav-āv(b)dhērugrajō (?) -  
daṃ(ñ)cad-ūrmī prāçaya-bhaya-bhuvō = mantha-manthāna-  
daṇḍah || [18]  
Rāmam **Çri-Puruṣōttamaṃ Bhagavatiṃ** = asmin = Su—
1. 22. -bhadrām tathā ratn-ālaṃ(ṇ)kṛti-rāji-rājita-tanuṃ bhaktyā  
=yam = asthāpayat | bhāty = ēṣām tritayam navam tri-jagati-  
cintāmaṇinām trayam prāsā (dē\*) ca samudgakē vinihitam kim  
madhyamē piṣṭapē || [19]  
Sauvarṇṇa-çruti-pāṇi-pā—
1. 23. -da-hṛdayō haima-prabhā-maṇḍalē bhāsvan-maṇḍala-saṃnibhē  
maṇi-lasat-tulā-sarōj-āsanah | sō ṣ yaṃ hāra-kirīṭa-kuṇḍala-  
dharah saṃskāra-dhāri sadā dhyēyā(yah) svarṇa-may-ākṛtiṃ  
pathi dṛṣōr = nirmāti Nārāyaṇah || [20]  
Udyānā—
1. 24. -ni navāni mālya-vidhayē kartum tri-kāl-ārccanaṃ bhōgān  
svarga-purōcitāu = upacitāu rāmāç = ca Rambh-ōpamāḥ | nānā-  
ratna-vibhuṣaṇāni bahuçō vāsāmsi bhūyāmsy = asau prāyacchat  
-paramēṣṭhinē parijanō da (?)
1. 25. -ttēna kim svāminē || [21]  
Pakṣatvaṃ tvayi yāty-ayaṃ dvija-patiḥ pakṣ-ōnnataç = c = ābha-  
vat Kām-ārē ṣ sya samasta-vāsanam-abhūt = khyātō ha mē ca



dr̥ṣaḥ | Dr̥ṣṭō ś smiṇn = adhip-ādhikāra-yugalē kāmē gatiḥ sam-  
prati = ty = ākhyāt = taṁ Garuḍaḥ

1. 26. kṛt-ām(ñ)jalir = asau papha (?) purō vartatē || [22]  
Yēn = ākāri prasāri-dyuti-rajata-ṣaṭam **Guṇḍic-āgāram** = Īṣō  
yasmin = Kailāsa-vāsa-praṇayam = adhigatō = hanta dēṣē ś py =  
amuṣmin | yasya prāghbhāra-khaṇḍa-sthala-vikala-nabhō—
1. 27. -maṇḍal-ājasra-hiṇḍan-mārttā(ta)ṇḍā(ṇḍa)ṣ = ca pracaṇḍa-ṣrama-  
ṣamana-paṭur = mmaṇḍapē ś bhūd = akhaṇḍaḥ || [23]  
Svādhyāy-ābhyāsa-ghōṣair = mukharita-gaganē yajña-yūp-āvali-  
bhīr = bhūyaḥ samcōbhāmānē dvija-vara-gahanē cōbhanē ṣāsanē  
ś smi—
1. 28. -n | āvairam ca prapam(ñ)cam Naraka-ripur = ayaṁ Kāmapālah  
Subhadra grām-ēṣasy = āparēṣām = api bhavatu sadā maṇḍalā  
gō-jalāya || [24]  
Prahād-Ōddhava-Pārthānām bhaktānām viraha-vyathām |  
tyājito Gōpināthēna puṇḍarika-vilōcanaḥ || [25]
1. 29. Mīmāṃsakasya nigam-ānta-vicāra-pāra-samcārīṇō ś sya kavi-  
paṇḍita-Gōpināthāt | jātasya **Jāgali-kavē** ramaṇ-ōktir = ēṣā  
harṣ-ōnnatīm sumanasām sarasām tanōtu || ☉ || [26]  
Ṣubham = astu || **Vakākhyēna** likhitam |
1. 30. Ṣri-Gōpināthaḥ prasannō = stu siddhidō bhakta-vatsalaḥ | Guṇa-  
ratn-ākaraḥ ṣṛimān = **Kapilēndra**-hṛdi-sthitaḥ ||

### *Abstract of contents.*

The inscription begins with a salutation to God Puruṣōttama. Verses 1 to 3 invoke His blessings. By order of the God enthroned on the blue hill (i.e., Jagannātha), the king named Kapilēndra appeared in the Oḍra kingdom as an ornament of the solar line (v. 4). His constant gifts at the sacred places tempted even the gods to come down (v. 5). The king, surnamed Bhramaravara, conquered Karṇāṭa, Kalavaraga (Kulbargā), Mālava and Gauḍa, and destroyed the pride of the Delhi king (v. 6). His march was indicated by the huge dust raised by the hoofs of his high horses, and the loud sounds of his bugles frightened the other kings and made them fly to forests (v. 7). The arrows of his bow put to death his enemies, the tears of whose imprisoned ladies removed the land-barrier of the sea (v. 8). He had a faithful priest named Lakṣmaṇa Mahāpātra, an ornament of the Mahāpātra Kula (v. 9). Lakṣmaṇa's son was Nārāyaṇa, the head of the ministers (v. 10). Nārāyaṇa's younger brother was Gōpinātha Mahāpātra, who was favoured by the king, and was in possession of the best qualities (v. 11). He got from the king sixteen umbrellas, took sixteen forts, imprisoned in war sixteen

chiefs, and after sixteen years became the chief minister (v. 12). Methinks Paraçurāma in the guise of Gōpinātha conquered anew the circle of kings, but unlike his previous act, replaced each king in his territory (v. 13). Having made him the Commander-in-Chief, him who defeated the Mālava king, and who stood as a bar to the inroad of the Gauḍa king, the monarch Kapilēçvara enjoyed the Çri of Karṇāṭa, levied taxes over the Khaṇḍa hill, and carried the Kāñcī city by force (v. 14). He (Gōpinātha) dug tanks by the side of roads, clear watered, well-known, calm, wide and cool (v. 15). The Commander-in-Chief Gōpinātha having crossed the terrible mountains on the way, and having conquered the Mālava king, the Gurjara king gave up his pride, the Delhi king felt dejected, and the Gauḍa king turned mean like a çavara (v. 16). The moon of the Hārita line (Gopinātha) erected this fine temple as a staff for deliverance from the mires of this unsubstantial world (v. 17). The temple is the highest with the solar *maṇḍala* as its finials, and serves as a staff for churning nectar (the meaning not clear throughout) (v. 18). In this temple he placed Rāma (Balarāma), Puruṣōttama (Jagannātha), and Bhagavatī Subhadrā, fully ornamented (v. 19). The Nārāyaṇa was made as described in the *dhyāna* (hymn)—then follows a description of his ornaments (v. 20). For garlands new gardens, *bhōgas* fit for heaven, maidens (charming) as Rambhā, many jewelled ornaments, ample dresses, he gave to the deities—what more shall be said about the servants given? (v. 21). “Oh Lord! May this Garuḍa be your steed.” On his (Gōpinātha’s) saying this as if Garuḍa himself stood in front with hands clasped and wings spread (meaning throughout not clear) (v. 22). By him was raised a Guṇḍicā temple, bright and silver white, where Mahādēva felt the delights of Kailāça mountain, and on whose cloud-dividing top the sun rested (v. 23). In this Çāsana resounding with Vedic teachings, decked with numerous sacrificial posts and crowded with high class Brahmins, may Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā bring good to the village lord, the residents, (the village) cattle and (its) water! (v. 24). By consecrating this Viṣṇu, Gōpinātha removed pangs of separation from the hearts of devotees like Prahlāda, Uddhava and Pārtha (*i.e.*, Arjuna) (v. 25). May these charming verses of the Mīmāṃsaka Vaidāntika poet Jāgali, born of the poet and the learned Gōpinātha, increase the delight of the wise! (v. 25). May it be good! Written by Vakākhya. May Gōpinātha (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu) beloved of Lakṣmī, meditated by the King Kapilendra, fond of his devotees, fulfiller of desires, and like sea in qualities, may He be gracious (unto us)! (v. 27).

## APPENDIX.

## THE LAST HINDU KINGS OF ORISSA.

In the Gōpināthapura Inscription the King Kapilēndra Dēva is described as of the Solar line “bhāsvad-vaṃṣ-āvatamṣa(h\*).” Very little authentic is known about these kings of Orissa. The time has now come to throw light into this dark chapter, and to give some account of them based on inscriptions supplemented at places by the Mādala Pāñji and other records.

## A. SŪRYA VAṂṢA DYNASTY.

(5 KINGS).

I. KAPILĒNDRA *alias* KAPILĒṢVARA DĒVA, BHĀMARAVARA.

(1434–35 A.D.—1469–70 A.D.)

Up to date the undermentioned authentic dates of this King—the founder of the Solar line—have been found<sup>1</sup> :—

| No.                                                                                                 | Dates.                                                            | References.                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                                                                                                  | 4th Aṅka, Dhanu New moon,                                         | Left side Inscription No. 3 of the Jagan-                                                                                                                                               |
| (O.)                                                                                                | Sunday = 9th December, 1436<br>A.D.                               | nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893,<br>pp. 92–3].                                                                                                                                  |
| 2.                                                                                                  | 4th Aṅka, Kumbha (?) Çukla                                        | The temple of Mukhalingēṣvara at Mukha-                                                                                                                                                 |
| (O.)                                                                                                | 13, Monday = 18th February,<br>1437 A.D.                          | lingam, District Gañjām [Dr. Hultzsch's<br>Epigraphical Report for 1895–6, No. 141,<br>p. 14]. I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch<br>for an ink impression of this old Oṛiyā<br>inscription. |
| 3.                                                                                                  | 4th Aṅka, Mithuna Saṅkrānti                                       | Right side Inscription No. 2 of the Bhu-                                                                                                                                                |
| (O.)                                                                                                | Kṛṣṇa 1, Tuesday = 29th May,<br>1437 A.D.                         | vanēṣvara temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp.<br>103–4].                                                                                                                                   |
| 4.                                                                                                  | 19th Aṅka, Tulā Kṛṣṇa 2, Sun-                                     | Right side Inscription No. 1 of the Bhu-                                                                                                                                                |
| (O.)                                                                                                | day = 2nd November, 1449<br>A.D.                                  | vanēṣvara temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII,<br>p. 10–3].                                                                                                                                     |
| N.B.—The <i>purnimānta</i> scheme has been used<br>here, instead of the usual <i>amānta</i> scheme. |                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 5.                                                                                                  | 19th Aṅka, Mēṣa New moon,                                         | Right side Inscription No. 2 of the Jagan-                                                                                                                                              |
| (O.)                                                                                                | Sunday = 12th April, 1450<br>A.D.                                 | nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893,<br>p. 99].                                                                                                                                     |
| 6.                                                                                                  | Çaka 1373, Māgha Çukla 5,                                         | The Çri-Kūrmān temple (near Çikākōḷa),                                                                                                                                                  |
| (S. & T.)                                                                                           | Thursday, Jovian year Prajā-<br>pati = 27th January, 1452<br>A.D. | 20th pillar, east and north face inscription<br>[Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report for<br>1895–6, p. 20, Nos. 317 and 318; and my<br>Ms. transcript].                                  |

<sup>1</sup> O. Signifies Oṛiyā in language, S. Sanskrit, and T. Telugu.

| No.  | Dates.                          | References.                                         |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 7.   | 25th Aṅka, Çaka 1377, Bhā-      | The Çrī-Kūrmāṁ temple, 18th pillar, west            |
| (T.) | drapada] Çukla 3, Saturday      | face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep.,          |
|      | =26th August, 1455 A.D.         | 1895-6, p. 20, No. 313; and my Ms.].                |
| 8.   | Çaka 1377, Blādrapada moon-     | Copper-plate inscription of the king Gāna-          |
|      | eclipse (?), the year Yuvan     | Dēva of Kōṇḍa-vidu [Dr. Hultzsch, Ind.              |
| (S.) | =August (?), 1455 A.D.          | Ant., Vol. XX, p. 391].                             |
| 9.   | 1461 A.D.                       | ... Ferishta, l. c. Elphinstone's History of India, |
|      |                                 | Appendix, p. 755; and Sewell's sketch of            |
|      |                                 | the dynasties of Southern India, p. 23.             |
| 10.  | 32nd (33rd) Aṅka, Çaka 1382,    | The Çrī-Kurmaṁ temple, 18th pillar, west            |
| (T.) | Jyēṣṭha Va 5 (? 7), Monday,     | face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep.,          |
|      | the year Vikrama=12th May,      | 1895-6, p. 19, No. 284; and my Ms.].                |
|      | 1461 A.D.                       |                                                     |
| 11.  | 35th (37th) Aṅka, Mēṣa Kṛṣṇa 4, | Left side Inscription No. 5 of the Jagan-           |
| (O.) | Wednesday = 25th April, 1464    | nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp.              |
|      | A.D.                            | 95-6].                                              |
| 12.  | Circa 1465 A.D.                 | ... The present inscription of the Gōpīnātha-       |
| (S.) |                                 | pura temple.                                        |
| 13.  | 41st Aṅka, Dhanu Çukla 7,       | Left side Inscription No. 4 of the Jagan-           |
| (O.) | Sunday = 14th December,         | nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp.              |
|      | 1466 A.D.                       | 93-4].                                              |

From the Aṅka inscriptions, Kapilēçvara's accession year can be ascertained as follows :—

|                                           |               |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 4th Aṅka or 3rd year                      | =1436-7 A.D.  |
| 19th Aṅka or 16th year                    | =1449-50 A.D. |
| 25th Aṅka or 21st year                    | =1454-5 A.D.  |
| 33rd Aṅka or 27th year                    | =1460-61 A.D. |
| 37th Aṅka or 30th year                    | =1463-4 A.D.  |
| 41st Aṅka or 33rd year                    | =1466-7 A.D.  |
| * * The 2nd Aṅka or 1st year =1434-5 A.D. |               |

According to Aṅka calculations, the last Aṅka of Kapilēçvara and the second Aṅka of his successor Puruṣōttama should fall in the same year. Hence Kapilēçvara's death took place in 1469-70 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Narasimha Dēva IV. of the Gaṅga dynasty was reigning in 1397 A.D. [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 133]. The thirty-seven years intervening between this date and the accession of Kapilēçvara Dēva in 1434-5

<sup>1</sup> According to the Mādaḷa Pāñji or the Chronicles of the temple of Jagan-nātha, the king ascended the throne at Camp Kṛttivāsa (Bhuvanēçvara) on Wednesday, Kakaṛā 2, Çu 4; and died on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa-Vōnyā river (the Kṛṣṇā) on Pauṣa Kṛ. 3, Tuesday. Neither of the dates comes out correct with the week day mentioned.

A.D. are at present epigraphically blank<sup>1</sup>. If the Mādaḷā Pāñji is to be believed, Kapilēçvara succeeded a Bhānu Dēva, whose name (surname?) was, according to one version, Akatā-Abatā, and according to another, Matta (drunk). Among the later Gaṅgas, the usual succession was a Narasiṃha Dēva followed by a Bhānu Dēva and so on. The thirty-seven years intervening will allow either of only one Bhānu Dēva after Narasiṃha Dēva IV, or of one Bhānu Dēva followed by a Narasiṃha Dēva, and then a second Bhānu Dēva. Looking to the rather short period, and the average long reigns of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings, the first supposition of only one Bhānu Dēva appears more probable.

The accounts given in the Mādaḷā Pāñji show that Kapilēçvara got to the throne probably with the aid of the Bahmanī king (Aḥmad Shāh I.). The present inscription gives him an *alias*, Kapilēndra, and a title Bhramaravara. Gānadēva's Copper-plate inscription speaks of his capital being at Kaṭaka on the bank of the river Mahānadī. He was evidently a powerful King, and extended his dominion from the bank of the Ganges on the north to that of the Kṛṣṇā on the south. His whole reign was spent in warring with the Hindu Kings of Vijayanagara, or with the Mahomedan Kings of the Bahmanī dynasty, or in suppressing internal revolts. The Mādaḷā Pāñji mentions that he had numerous sons, among whom Puruṣōttama Dēva was one, but not the eldest.

## II. PURUṢOTTAMA DĒVA.

(1469-70 A.D.—1496-97 A.D.)

The following give all the reliable dates as yet known of this king:—

| No.  | Dates.                               | References.                                                                              |
|------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.   | 2nd Aṅka, Mēṣa Çu 12, Thurs-         | Left side No. 2                                                                          |
| (O.) | day=12th April, 1470 A.D.            | Right side No. 1                                                                         |
|      |                                      | } Inscriptions of the<br>Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII,<br>1893, pp. 91-2, 98.] |
| 2.   | 3rd Aṅka, Çāka 1392, Āçvija          | The Çrī-Kūrmaṃ temple, 49th pillar, north                                                |
| (T.) | Çuddha pratipad, Tuesday =           | face [Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report                                                 |
|      | 25th September, 1470 A.D.            | for 1895-6, No. 365, p. 23].                                                             |
| 3.   | 3rd Aṅka Mārgaçira Kṛ. 13, Left side | Inscription No. 1 of the Jagan-                                                          |
| (O.) | Tuesday = 28th November,             | nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp.                                                   |
|      | 1470 A.D.                            | 90-1].                                                                                   |
| 4.   | Çāka 1393, year Khara, Caitra        | The Çrī-Kūrmaṃ temple, 49th pillar, west                                                 |
| (T.) | Va (? Çu), Ādivāra (Sunday)          | and south faces [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep.,                                                |
|      | = 31st March, 1471 A.D.              | 1895-6, No. 366, p. 23].                                                                 |
|      | (if Va be Çu).                       |                                                                                          |

<sup>1</sup> There is an inscription of probably this King in the Çrī-Kūrmaṃ temple (11th pillar, east face) which purports to be dated in 1324 Çāka or 1402-3 A.D. (No. 299, Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep. 1895-6, p. 20). But I have not got the week day and the correct figures yet. Hence it is not taken into consideration.



| No. | Dates.                                                                                                                            | References.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5.  | 1471 A.D.                                                                                                                         | Ferishta, l.c., Elphinstone's Hist. of Ind. (1889 ed.), Appendix p. 756; and Sewell's sketch of S. Indian dynasties, p. 23.                                                                                                                      |
| 6.  | 7th (4th) Aṅka, Çaka 1393, (T.) Āsārha Çu 2, Thursday, the Jovian year Khara = 20th June, 1472 A.D.                               | The Çri-Kūrmaṁ temple, 2nd pillar, north and west face [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, p. 19, No. 274; and my Ms.].                                                                                                                            |
| 6.  | 7. 1477 A.D.                                                                                                                      | Ferishta, l.c. Elphin., App. p. 756; and Sewells' sketch, p. 23.                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 8.  | 15th (17th) Aṅka, Mēṣa, Di 10 (O.) (11), new moon, Monday, solar eclipse = 7th April, 1483 A.D.                                   | My reading of the Oṛiyā Copper-plate grant to the Balasore Bhuñyās [Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 355]. The original reading seems to have been wrong, but Prof. Kielhorn has arrived at the correct English equivalent in Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 108. |
| 9.  | 19th Aṅka, Simha Çu 8, Thurs- (O.) day = 18th April, 1485 A.D.                                                                    | Right side Inscription No. 4 of the Jagan-nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 100-1].                                                                                                                                                    |
| 10. | Çaka 1411, the Jovian year (T.) Kilaka = 1488-89 A.D.                                                                             | A Koṇḍa-Viḍu Inscription [Sewell's sketch south, dyn., p. 48]. The Çaka year current was apparently used.                                                                                                                                        |
| 11. | 25th Aṅka, Viṣā (Vṛṣa) Saṅ- (O.) krānti, Çu 8, Thursday = 27th May, 1490 A.D.                                                     | Çri-Kūrmaṁ temple, 1st pillar (of Nos. 272 and 273), not reported in Ep. Rep. for 1895-6. I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch's for two ink impressions of this inscription.                                                                           |
| 12. | Çaka 1417, the Jovian year (T.) Rākṣasa, 32nd (? 33rd) Aṅka, Kārttika Çuddha 13, Manda- vāra (Saturday) = 31st October, 1495 A.D. | The Çri-Kūrmaṁ temple, 41st pillar, north face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, p. 202, No. 347].                                                                                                                                   |

With the help of the Aṅka inscriptions the precise year of Puruṣōttama Dēva's accession can be found out. The Aṅka dates are

|                        |                |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 2nd Aṅka or 1st year   | = 1469-70 A.D. |
| 3rd Aṅka or 2nd year   | = 1470-71 A.D. |
| 4th Aṅka or 3rd year   | = 1471-2 A.D.  |
| 17th Aṅka or 14th year | = 1482-3 A.D.  |
| 19th Aṅka or 16th year | = 1484-5 A.D.  |
| 25th Aṅka or 21st year | = 1489-90 A.D. |
| 32nd Aṅka or 26th year | = 1494-5 A.D.  |

\* \* The 1st year was 1469-70 A.D.

From his successor's Aṅka dates, the time of Puruṣōttama's death can be deduced. It took place in 1496-97 A.D.

On the death of Kapilēçvara Dēva, his sons fought with one another for the throne. Ultimately Puruṣōttama secured it with the help of the Bahmani king Muḥammad Shāh II. For this aid, he had to cede to the



Bahmanī king the southern-most districts of Kōṇḍapalli and Rājamahēndri. Ferishta calls him “Amber Rai” which is apparently a corruption of the title “Bhramaravara Rāya”—a title still given in Orissa to a prince, not always the eldest one. Later on, the Orissa king appears to have repented of the bargain, and to have attempted a conquest of the ceded districts. This led to an expedition into Orissa in 1477 A.D. by the Bahmanī king Muḥammad, which Ferishta reports as having been successful. Anyhow these districts passed ultimately into the hands of the Orissa king, as the Kōṇḍa-Viṣṇu inscription of 1488–9 A.D. shows.

The king also waged war with Vidyānagara (or as the Mahomedans put it Vijayanagar). *Caitanya-carit-āmṛta*, the well-known biography of the great Bengal Vaiṣṇavite preacher, Caitanya, says that the King Puruṣōttama Dēva conquered Vidyānagara, and thence brought a jewelled *siṃhāsana* (throne) which he presented to Jagannātha, and also the image of *Sākṣi-gōpāla* which he kept in his capital at Kaṭaka (*Çait. car. āmr.*, Madhya Khaṇḍa, 5th Paricchēda). The first Vidyānagara dynasty was then tottering on its throne, and was shortly after replaced by the second dynasty.

The few details given in the Mādala Pāñji are mainly taken up in describing an expedition of this King into Kāñci. If there be any truth in it, then it is likely connected with the raid of the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shāh II, who in 1477–8 A.D. made a dash towards Conjeeveram, and returned with an immense booty. Puruṣōttama Dēva might have joined the said king as an ally.

According to the Mādala Pāñji this king erected the Bhōga-maṇḍapa (refectory hall) of Jagannātha temple in his 7th Aṅka (1473–4 A.D.); and in his 9th Aṅka (1475–6 A.D.) he built the inner wall and the cooking rooms of that temple.

### III. PRATĀPA RUDRA DĒVA.

(1496–97—?1539–40 A.D.)

The following dates of this King are known as yet:—

| No.     | Dates.                                                                                                   | References.                                                                                        |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. (O.) | 4th Aṅka, Kakṛā Çu 10, Wednesday = 17th July, 1499 A.D.                                                  | Left side Inscription No. 6 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 96–7].        |
| 2. (O.) | 5th Aṅka, Dhanu 3 (?) Kr. (?), Monday = ? December, 1500 A.D.                                            | Left side Inscription No. 7 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 97].           |
| 3. (T.) | Çaka 1425, the Jovian year Rudhirōdgārin, Kārttika Çuddha Purnamī, Friday = 1503 A.D., (?) 3rd November. | The Çri-Kūrmārṇ temple, 41st pillar, north face [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895–6, p. 22, No. 346]. |

| No. | Dates.                                        | References.                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4.  | 1509–10 A.D. (17th Aṅka of the Mādaḷā Pāñji). | Mahomedan historians, i.e. Hunter's History of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 9–10, and App. VIII, p. 193.                                                                 |
| 5.  | 1510 A.D. (February and March).               | <i>Caitanya-carit-āmrta</i> , beginning of the 7th paricchēda, Madhyama Khaṇḍa; <i>Caitanya-maṅgala</i> , Antya Khaṇḍa, 2nd and 3rd Adhyāya.                     |
| 6.  | 1511 A.D., Ratha festival.                    | <i>Cait.-car.-āmr.</i> , Madhya Khaṇḍa, 14th paricchēda; cf. <i>Cait. maṅ.</i> , Antya Khaṇḍa, 5th Adhyāya.                                                      |
| 7.  | Çaka 1436 = 1514–5 A.D.                       | Two Inscriptions at Udayagiri [Sewell's sketch of the southern dynasties, p. 48, note 4].                                                                        |
| 8.  | 1515–6 A.D.                                   | An Inscription in the Varadarāja-svāmī temple at Conjeveram [Chingleput District Manual, pp. 435–6, i.e., Sewell's sketch south. dyn., p. 119 and p. 48 note 4]. |
| 9.  | ? 1519–20 A.D.                                | <i>Cait.-car.-āmr.</i> , Antya Khaṇḍa, 9th paricchēda.                                                                                                           |
| 10. | 1522 A.D.<br>(32nd Aṅka of Mādaḷā Pāñji)      | Ferishta, i.e., Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., App., p. 760; Hunter's Hist. Orissa, Vol. II, App. VIII, p. 193.                                                       |

Pratāpa Rudra's accession year falls in 1496–97, as calculated from his only reliable Aṅka date in the Jagannātha temple. The time of his death is uncertain. According to Mādaḷā Pāñji he was succeeded first by his son Kālu-ā Dēva who reigned for a year and five months, and then by another of his sons Kakhāru-ā Dēva who ruled for only three months. They were killed, one after the other, by their minister Gōvinda Vidyādhara. The latter then usurped the throne, and founded the small dynasty known as the *Bhoi*. One inscription of Gōvinda Dēva is known in the temple of Jagannātha. It is dated 4th Aṅka, Bichā Çukla Tr̥tiyā, Tuesday, or 30th October, 1543 A.D. [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 101–2]. From this it is deducible that Gōvinda Dēva began to reign in 1541–42 A.D. So that if the Mādaḷā Pāñji's dates as regards Kakhāru-ā and Kālu-ā Dēvas be accepted, Pratāpa Rudra's last year would fall in 1539–40 A.D. According to a tradition noticed in the *Jagannātha-carit-āmrta*, an Oṛiyā biography of Jagannātha Dāsa—a disciple of Caitanya and the founder of the Atibara subsect of Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa—Pratāpa Rudra survived Caitanya. The latter died, according to his biographies, in 1455 Çaka or 1533–4 A.D. So then Pratāpa Rudra might have been reigning at least in 1535 A.D., and there is nothing improbable in his reigning up to 1539–40 A.D.

It was a stirring time. In the north in Bengal, Ḥusain Shāh had been consolidating his kingdom; in the south the Vidyānagara monarchy

was rising again under Narasa of the 2nd dynasty; and a few years later Quṭb Shāh, general of the Bahmanī king, founded the kingdom of Gōlkōṇḍā. Pratāpa Rudra, after he had been on the throne for about 5 or 6 years, became engaged in a war with Narasa. Mādālā Pāñji says that he conquered the king; but two Vidyānagara copper-plates, one of Acyuta Rāya and the other of Sadāgiva Rāya, speak of Narasa conquering the Gajapati ruler.<sup>1</sup> In 1509 A.D. Ismāil Ghāzī (named Surasthāna in M. Pāñji), a general of the Bengal Nawab, made a dash into Orissa, ravaged the country, sacked Puri town and destroyed a number of Hindu temples. Pratāpa Rudra hurried from the south, and the Mahomedan general retreated. He was closely pursued and defeated on the bank of the Ganges (M. Pāñji). The general took refuge in Fort Māndāran (Subdivision Jehanabad, District Hooghly), and was besieged. But one of the Rāja's high officers, Gōvinda Vidyādhara, went over to the enemy's side; and so the Rājā had to raise the siege and to retire to Orissa. This war and the destruction of the Hindu images have been mentioned in several places in the *Caitanya-maṅgala alias Bhāgavata*, one of the earliest biographies of Caitanya the Bengal preacher (composed *circa* 1550–60 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

It was also a period of considerable religious ferment. Vallabhācārya had begun his religious preachings in the north; and Caitanya began his religious wanderings in Bengal, Orissa and elsewhere. In February 1510 A.D., Caitanya came to Puri and stopped for two months. At that time Pratāpa Rudra had gone to the south, and was fighting with Kṛṣṇa Rāya who had just then come to the throne of Vidyānagara. Wandering in the south after a year Caitanya came back to Puri. There at the time of the Ratha festival the king and the preacher met; and according to the biographies, Pratāpa Rudra was converted and became a devoted disciple.

Several of the king's officers also became Caitanya's disciples, among whom the most prominent was Rāmānanda Rāya, for some time governor of Rājamahendri. It is related in *Caitanya-carit-āmṛta* (Antya Khaṇḍa, 9th Paricchēda) that Rāmānanda's brother Gōpinātha Barajēnā, who was the revenue officer in charge of Mālījyātha Daṇḍapāṭa (at present the eastern part of Midnapur District) fell in arrear of a large revenue—two lakh Kālāns of cowries, and was ordered by the king to be put to death. He was however saved and reinstated by the mediation of Caitanya's disciples.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 152; Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 12, "*Vīry-ōdagraṁ Turuṣkaṁ Gajapati-nṛpatim c = āpi jītvā tad-anyān.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Caitanya-maṅgala alias Bhāgavata*, Antya Khaṇḍa, 2nd Adhyāya, pp. 772, 779–80; 4th Adhyāya, pp. 865, 866.

In another Vaiṣṇavite work, Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṅgala*, it is said that Pratāpa Rudra consulted Caitanya about invading Bengal. The preacher dissuaded him, pointing out that the war would be disastrous for Orissa [i.e. the Bengali Magazine *Śrī-śrī-Viṣṇupriyā Patrikā*, Kārttik 1897, p. 477].

The latter part of Pratāpa Rudra's reign seems to have been spent chiefly in the south. Kṛṣṇa Rāya, the greatest king of the Vidyānagara second dynasty, invaded the Gajapati territory in 1514-5 A.D., defeated Virabhadra son of Pratāpa Rudra, took prisoner his uncle Tirumalappa Rāya, and conquered all the tract south of the Gōdāvarī. The Vidyānagara generals also made incursions northwards up to Ganjam; and finally Pratāpa Rudra had to make a treaty and to give his daughter in marriage to the victorious monarch.

In 1522 A.D. Pratāpa Rudra waged a long and desultory war with Quṭb Shāh of Gōlkōṇḍā. According to the Mādālā Pāñji neither side gained any decisive victory; but Ferishta says that the Hindu king was defeated, and lost a part of his territory.

#### IV. KĀLU-Ā DĒVA.

(? 1539-40 A.D. — ? 1541-42 A.D.)

Pratāpa Rudra left several sons, and an ambitious and powerful minister, Gōvinda Vidyādhara. The eldest of the sons succeeded under the title Kālu-ā Dēva. No inscription of this king is known. According to the Mādālā Pāñji he ruled for one year, five months and three days. He was murdered by the minister.

#### V. KAKHĀRU-Ā DĒVA.

(? 1541-42 A.D.)

Another son of Pratāpa Rudra succeeded Kālu-ā Dēva under the above title. After a brief and disturbed rule of three months, he, too, was killed by the all-powerful minister. Gōvinda then had the remaining sons of Pratāpa Rudra murdered, and ascended the throne under the title of Gōvinda Dēva. He founded the small *Bhō-i* (writer) dynasty, which with Tēlinga Mukunda Haricandana ruled up to the final Mahomedan conquest of Orissa in 1568 A.D.

#### B. BHŌ-I DYNASTY.

(4 KINGS):

GŌVINDA DĒVA.

(1541-42 A.D.— ? 1549 A.D.)

Only one inscription of this king is known :—

|                                     |                                                                                          |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4th Aṅka, Bichā Çukla 3rd, Tuesday= | Right side Inscription No. 5 of the<br>Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B.,<br>1893, pp. 101-2]. |
| 30th October, 1543 A.D. (Oṛiyā).    |                                                                                          |

\* \* \* The first year fell in 1541-42 A.D.

According to one version of the M. Pāñji he ruled seven years; according to another version 11 years and seven months. The shorter period is accepted as being more probable. It is more consistent with the reigning years which follow; and as Gōvinda Vidyādhara was in high service in 1509 A.D., he could not be expected to reign long after 1541 A.D. In his 7th Aṅka (1545–46 A.D.) he is said to have waged war with the king of Gōlkōṇḍā. While encamping in the south, his sister's son Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya revolted in Orissa. The king hurried back, defeated the rebels who were being assisted by Bengal Mahomedans, and drove them beyond the Gaṅges.

## II. CAKĀ PRATĀPA DĒVA.

( ? 1549 A.D.— ? 1557 A.D.)

This son of Gōvinda Dēva succeeded. According to one version, he ruled eight years; according to another, twelve years and a half. The shorter period has been accepted. He is represented as a bad king, who oppressed the people.

## III. NARASIMHA RĀYA JĒNĀ.

( ? 1557 A.D. )

According to Mādaḷā Pāñji he had just ascended the throne of his father, when Mukunda Haricandana rebelled and murdered him. He was on the throne for only one month and sixteen days.

## IV. RAGHURĀMA JĒNĀ.

( ? 1557 A.D.— ? 1559–60 A.D.)

The brother of the above succeeded. Mukunda Haricandana continued to revolt, defeated and imprisoned the king's chief minister Danē-i Vidyādhara, defeated and imprisoned Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya who had invaded again from the Bengal side, and finally murdered the king, after a disturbed rule of one year, seven months and fourteen days.

## C. TĒLIṄGĀ DYNASTY.

(ONE KING).

MUKUNDA DĒVA, HARICANDANA.

(1559–60 A.D.—1568 A.D.)

The last independent Hindu King of Orissa:—

The following may be ascribed to his reign:—

1. A.H. 968=1560 A.D. ... A silver coin of Jalāl Shah, mint Jājpur [Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 417].



2. A.H. 973 = 1564–65 A.D. ... Stewart's History of Bengal, ed. 1847, pp. 95–6; Hunter's History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 12.
3. A.H. 975 = 1568 A.D. (10th Aṅka of the M. Pāñji). Hunter's Hist. Orissa, Vol. II, page 10. note 29, p. 31; Mr. Beames, J.A.S.B., Vol. LII, p. 233 note.

Mukunda Dēva was a Telugu by birth. He got to the throne by a successful revolt. The silver coin of Jalāl Shāh with the mint mark of Jājpur shows that the Mahomedan king of Bengal assisted in 1560 A.D. Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya in his invasion of Orissa, and the coin was struck apparently when on the march to Kaṭaka. Mukunda Dēva however defeated Raghu Bhañja, and imprisoned him. In 1564–65 A.D. the Emperor Akbar sent an ambassador to Orissa, and entered into a treaty with the king. The latter in return sent an ambassador to Delhi. The treaty was intended as a check to the Bengal king Sulaimān Karrārāñi. The latter, however, kept quiet, until he found Akbar fully engaged in wars in the west. He then attacked the Orissa king who had come to the banks of the Ganges. Mukunda Dēva took refuge in Fort Kōṭsamā and defended himself therein. Then the Bengal king detached a part of his force, and sent them round to Orissa through Mayūrabhañja and thence southwards by the Kāṣabāsa river. This force under Illāhābād Kālāpahāra began to ravage Orissa, and defeated the king's deputy; while one of the Oriyā chiefs raised the standard of revolt. Hearing this the Orissa king hurried south, fought with the rebels and was killed. The rebel chief was in turn killed by the Mahomedans. Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya who was lying imprisoned, escaped and attempted to take possession of the throne. After four months' fight with Kālāpahāra, he too was slain; and the Mahomedans took final possession of Orissa. This conquest took place in 1568 A.D.



*An Inscription of the time of Nayapāla Dēva, from the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā Temple at Gayā.—By BABU MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.*

[Read April, 1899.]

This inscription is on a stone slab fixed in the right gateway of the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā temple in Gayā town. The present temple with its image of Kishenji was built 70 or 80 years ago by a Gayāwāl Brahmin, Dāmōdar Lāl Dhōkrī. But it has been evidently set up on an old site on which had stood a temple containing images of gods Kṛṣṇa and Mahādēva. The inscription was first brought to public notice by General Cunningham, and a facsimile was printed in the Archæological Survey Report of India, Vol. III, Plate XXXII. Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mitra tried to decipher it, but did not succeed, (see the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, August 1879). I edit the text from two fairly good ink impressions taken by Babu Paramēṣvara Dayāl, Court of Wards' Head Clerk, Gaya. I have had also the advantage of consulting the original in cases of doubtful readings.

The writing consists of 18 lines and covers a space of 2' 4" × 1' 0". The letters are well cut, and where entire are legible. But in many lines the letters are more or less damaged, particularly in the 4th; and 7th to 14th lines. The large number of damaged letters has caused much difficulty in decipherment. In size the letters are  $\frac{3}{10}'' \times \frac{4}{10}''$ . The written characters are of the type known as Kuṭīla. The Mātrās (the top horizontal lines) are in full swing; the marks of medial vowels ē and ō are pendent from the top lines as in modern Bēngalī and Oṛiyā; and the conjunct consonants including those of ṇ and ñ are carefully engraved.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is in Sanskrit, and excepting the invocation at the beginning, is in verse throughout. The verses are twenty-one in number and are in various metres. The orthography shows little peculiarity.

<sup>1</sup> These peculiarities I have observed also in another Gayā inscription of the time of Nayapāla Dēva (*Gri-Nayapāla-dēva-nṛpatē rājya-griyam bibhrataḥ* l. 14). This inscription of 15 lines does not appear to have been published yet.

The conjunct consonants are correctly given; the nasals  $\eta$  and  $\tilde{n}$  are generally properly used; with  $\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$  is used and not anusvāra (as *vaycē* for *vañcē* in line 4, *aṇṇu* for *añṇu* in line 16); in line 12 one *lupta*  $\alpha$  has been shown with  $\tilde{a}$  (*yathārthā s lagkārah*).

The inscription is a *praçastī* (l. 17) describing the erection of a temple to Lord Janārdana by a Gayā Brahmin named **Viçvāditya**. The dedicator was a **Mahā-dvija** (l. 4), an euphemistic term for a low class Brahmin who assists in the offering of *piṇḍas*. His genealogy is thus given :—

Paritōṣa (l. 5, v. 5).

|  
Son

Çūdraka (l. 6, v. 7).

|  
Son

Viçvāditya (l. 8, v. 9).

The *praçastī* was composed by one **Sahadēva**, who was also a *vāji-vaidyā* or veterinary physician. The engraving was done by the artisan **Saṭṭa-Sōma** son of **Adhipa-Sōma**.

The historically valuable portion of the inscription is to be found in the last verse. It states that the *praçastī* was written, while **Nayapāla Dēva** was reigning. The year is given as *daça-pañca-saṃkhyā-samvatsarē*, which ordinarily would mean "in the year 510." But unless the year be referred to some unknown era (like Harṣa or Cēdi), the inscription cannot by any means be referred to so early a date. It seems more reason able to take the expression as *daça* and *pañca*, or the **fifteenth year** of the king **Nayapāla Dēva**.<sup>1</sup>

The **Nayapāla Dēva** of the present inscription is apparently identical with the well known king of that name belonging to the **Pāla** dynasty of Magadha, who was the son of **Mahipāla**, and who has been mentioned in several inscriptions. The epigraphical characters and the find-spot of the inscription do not allow of any other identification. The time of this **Nayapāla Dēva** has not yet been precisely ascertained. An approximate idea of his time can, however, be deduced from the *Tibetan Chronicles* compiled by Rai Çaratcandra Dās Bahādur, in his article on "Indian Pandits in Tibet" (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Vol. I, pp. 7-31). Ācārya Dipaṅkara Çri-Jñāna *alias* *Atiçā* was a contemporary of **Nayapāla Dēva**, and *Bu-Ston's Chos hbyuṇ* gives the following relevant facts. *Atiçā* was residing at **Vajrāsana**

<sup>1</sup> In the other unpublished inscription of **Nayapāla Dēva's** time, the year is distinctly given as fifteen "*Saṃvṛttē taras = aiva pañca-daçaṃ rājyasya samvatsarē*" (l. 14).

(Bōdh Gayā) when the king of the Kārṇya in the west invaded Magadha, and a war ensued between him and Nayapāla. The invaders sacked several towns at first, but were ultimately defeated. Atiṣā mediated and succeeded in bringing about a treaty between the two kings (p. 9 note). Apparently some time before this he had been appointed by Nayapāla<sup>1</sup> as high priest of the Buddhist Vihāra at Vikramaṣila (p. 9). When he had been there for some time, the Tibetan king, Lha Lama Yes'es hod, sent a deputation to India under Rgyā-tsan for inducing Atiṣā to come to Tibet, but the latter declined to go (p. 13). Shortly after, this king died in captivity, and was succeeded by his nephew, prince Cān Cūb. After a year (p. 15) the prince sent Nāg-tsō to Vikramaṣila again. In that monastery Nāg-tsō stayed for three years (p. 23), and at length persuaded Atiṣā to start for Tibet. En route while in Nepal, Atiṣā wrote an epistle to the king Nayapāla, named *Vimala-Ratna-Lēkhana* (pp. 26 and 31). Atiṣā lived in Tibet for twelve years ("thirteen years" in another place), and died in 1053 A.D. (p. 30).

The above data enable us to arrive at the following dates :—

- |                                                                 |                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Atiṣā died in                                                | 1053 A.D.              |
| 2. He proceeded to Tibet in<br>(twelve years)                   | 1042 A.D. <sup>2</sup> |
| 3. He met Nāg-tsō first in<br>(three years)                     | 1039 A.D.              |
| 4. The Tibetan king died in<br>(one year)                       | 1038 A.D.              |
| 5. Atiṣā met Rgyā-tsan in                                       | ? 1036-7 A.D.          |
| 6. He mediated between Nayapāla and<br>the king of Kārṇya in    | ? 1035 A.D.            |
| 7. He was appointed (by Nayapāla)<br>high priest of Vikramaṣila | ? 1033 A.D.            |

Apparently therefore the king Nayapāla Dēva was reigning in 1033 A.D. His accession could not have taken place much further back, for according to the Sārnāth inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 139-140), his father Mahipāla was reigning in V.S. 1083 or 1026 A.D. Possibly the king of Kārṇya invaded Magadha expecting to have better success with a new, and therefore young and inexperienced king. Considering the various facts, the king Nayapāla might be fairly assumed to

<sup>1</sup> The name of the king has been given in pp. 2 and 11 as Mahipāla, apparently by mistake.

<sup>2</sup> "In 1042 A.D., the famous Atisha, a native of Bengal, who is known in Tibet as Jovo-rje or Jovo-rtishe, also came there." Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 227.

have ascended the throne between 1030 and 1033 A.D. The fifteenth year takes us to 1044 to 1047 A.D., or briefly, *Circa* 1045 A.D.

Babu Çaratcandra Dās has compiled his article chiefly from Bu-Ston's Cos hbyuṅ (rin-tsoṅ). Bu-Ston was the principal disciple of Atiçā (Rockhill, p. 227). Consequently his work might mainly be considered contemporaneous, and therefore more reliable than Tārā-nātha's or similar historical works, which appeared long after Atiçā's death.

### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

1. 1. Oṃ Namō Bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya ॥ Unnidra-nīlakamal-ākara-kāya-kāntiḥ svarṇṇ-ābhīrāma-rucira-dyuti-pitavasaḥ | udbhāsyamāna iva cañcalayā ghaṇaughō Viṣṇuḥ priyādvaya-varēṇa yunaktu yuṣmān ॥ [1 ॥].<sup>2</sup>
1. 2. Vyānirmāya samasta-vastu-sukhinō viprān prajānām patir=yam=adhyāsta iv=ātman=aiva paritō mūrtti-prapañcam dadhat | uttunggaiḥ çarad-abhra-çubhra-çucibhiḥ saudhaiḥ kṛt-ālaṅkṛtir=mmōkṣa-dvāram = anarggalam ja—
1. 3. -gati sā Çrīmad-Gayā gīyatē ॥ [2 ॥].<sup>3</sup> Vēd-ābhyāsa-parāyaṇa-dvija-gaṇ-ōdgirṇṇ-ōgra-pāṭha-kramād = uccair = uccarita-dhvani-vyatikarair = yatn-āvadhāryā girah | kiñ = c = ājasrita-hōma-dhūma-pāṭala-dhvānt-āvṛtau sāmprataṁ dharmmō
1. 4. yatra mahā-bhayād = iva Kalēḥ kālasya samtiṣṭhatē ॥ [3 ॥]. Atyādṛtair=guṇa-nayair=uru-ñila-padma-ñiçhadma-sadmani satām sukr̥t=ābhimarçē | nihāra-hāra-çarad-indu-vivu(bu)ddha-kunda-sandōha-sundara-Mahā-dvija-rāja-vaṇ(ṁ)çē
1. 5. ॥ [4 ॥].<sup>4</sup> Ajāta-lakṣma-dvija-rāja-çekharah samantatō=bhūri-vibhūti-bhūṣaṇah | va(ba)bhūva dhanyō giri-rāja-putrikā-priy-ōpamēyah Paritōṣa-samñjakah ॥ [5 ॥].<sup>5</sup> Ananya-sāmānya-dig-anta-mandiraiḥ tri-vargga-saṁsarggi-guṇ-ā—
1. 6. çrayair=jagat | çarat-sudhā-dhāma-gabhasti-taskaraiḥ samantatō yasya yaçōbbhir=āvṛtam ॥ [6 ॥]. Dvija-vara-vinatā-nandana-niramyā-gatikah samāçritō=lakṣmyā | tasya tad=anutanu-janmā mura-ripur=iva Çūdrako bhūtaḥ ॥ [7 ॥].<sup>6</sup>
1. 7. Dūr-ōdyāta-çarat-sudhā-nidhi-sudhā-kund-ābhīrāma-ccavi-ccahā-yaic=cchannam=abhūd=yaçōbbhir=abhitō yasya tri-lōki-talam | karpūrain=iva pūritam malayaja-kṣōdair = iv = ālēpitam kṣuvdha(bdha)-kṣīra-payōdhi-tuṅga-lahari-lēhair = iv = āplā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original and two ink impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Çārdūlavikṛīṭa; and of the next verse.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Vaṁçastha; and of the next verse.

<sup>6</sup> Metre Āryā.

1. 8. vitam || [8 ||].<sup>1</sup> Satyam dharmma-sutē sthiratvam = acalē  
gāmbhīryam=ambhō-nidhau va(ba)hv-ācārya-guṇā matiḥ sura-  
guran tējasvitā bhāsvati | ētē santi guṇāḥ pṛthak = param =  
udañcādbhir=jigīṣā-rasair=**V**viṣvādityam=añjanat=sutam=a-  
sāv = ēbhiḥ sumastaiḥ ṛitam || [9 ||]. Yas = tāpānta-karah  
sudhā-nidhir = iv = āpūrṇaḥ kalānām gaṇair = yas = tung-  
ābhya-day-ācṛitō ravir = iva prauḍha-pratāp-odayaḥ | pratyantaḥ  
karaṇ-ābhivāñchita-phal-ājasra-pradāna-ṛibhiḥ cṛiṣṭō
1. 10. jaṅgama-kalpa-vṛkṣa iva yō jātāḥ samast-ārthinām ||  
[10 ||]. Dōrdaṇḍa-dvaya-caṇḍa-vikrama-kaṣṭha-dig-vāji-ṣaury-  
ādbhuta-kṛiḍ-ōnmūlita-vairi-vargga-vipinaḥ prauḍha-pratāp(?)  
-āruṇaḥ | vāry-ālīṣu yath = āvḍhi(bdhi)r = āpadi tathā pravya-
1. 11. kta-dhairya-kramah kiñ = ca prākṛta-sarvva-garvva-vimukhaḥ  
sampatsv = analpāsv = api || [11 ||]. Ṣriy = ānya-vyāsangō  
visadīṣa-samācāra-vikalō janō madyēu = ēva skhalanam = upa-  
hāsañ = ca bhajatē | iyañ sā yasya ṛiḥ samucita-vi—
1. 12. lās-ābhya-dayini yath-ārthā ṣ laṅkārah samadhika-jan-ānanda-  
viṣayaḥ || [12 ||].<sup>2</sup> Yasy = ākṛttrima-mēdur-ācṛita-mahi-  
paryanta-samvāsibhir = nṛty-ārambha-vijrmbhaṇ-ōddhata-bhu-  
jair = udgiyamānā janaiḥ | sānand-ōtpulakañ vi—
1. 13. -mānam = asakṛd = dēvair = vvilamv(b)-ām(b)arē ṣlāghā-ghūrṇ-  
ṇita-mūrdhabhir = nipatitaiḥ kirttiḥ samākaraṇnyatē || [13 ||].<sup>3</sup>  
Sābhyaśūya-paritōṣa-lēṣatō vikṣitāni ṣanakaiḥ sakaṭākṣaṁ |  
yasya vidviḍ-anukūla-kulāni prāpnuvanti nidha—
1. 14. -nāni dhanāni || [14 ||].<sup>4</sup> Ninadanti danti-vara-hanti yāni  
kucitāni tāni ca durunnayāni | ati-manda-mandam = atigah-  
varāsu nivasanti santi giri-kandarāsu || [15 ||].<sup>5</sup> Samtatēna  
tatēna tējasā durnnayasya nayasya vidvi—
1. 15. -ṣām | ākulāni kulāni durggamād = durggatāni gatāni durgga-  
mañ || [16 ||].<sup>6</sup> Sapt-ām(vu(mbu)-rāṣi-visarat ṣ(ac-ch)latha-  
mēkhalāyā asyā bhuvaḥ kati na bhūmi-bhujō=va(ba)bhūvuḥ |  
siddhim na kasya cid = agād = yad = analpa-kalpais = tēn = ātra  
kirttanam = akā—
1. 16. -ri Janārdanasya || [17 ||].<sup>7</sup> Kailās-ācala-ṣṛṅga-sambhramam =  
adhaḥ-kurvāt = prarūḍh-ōdaya-prālēya-dyuti-kunda-sundara-  
yaṣaḥ-puñj-ōpamēy-ākṛti | yatr = ōttunga-ṣikh-āgra-sangata-  
ṣarac-candr-āṅ(m)ṣu-ṣubhra-ṣribhir = mmuñcan = nūtana-mañja-  
rir = iva patā—

<sup>1</sup> Metre Ārdulavikṛiḍita; and of  
the next three verses.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Ṣikharīṇi.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Ārdulavikṛiḍita.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of first *pāda* Rathoddhatā,  
the rest Svāgatā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Jagatī.

<sup>6</sup> Metre Akṣarāvati.

<sup>7</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

1. 17. -kābhir=nnabhō rājatē || [18||].<sup>1</sup> **Vāji-vaidya-Sahadēva-**  
niruktiḥ tat-praṣastir = iyam = astu nitāntaṁ | prēma-sauhrda-  
sukh-aika-dharitrī sajjanasya hrdayē ramaṇ=iva || [19||]<sup>2</sup>  
**Çrīmatō s dhīpa-Sōmasya** ātmajēn = ārjitam yaçāḥ | u—  
1. 18. -tkirṇṇa-karmmaṇi **Çrīmat-Satṭa-Sōmēna** çilpinā || [20||]<sup>3</sup>  
Samasta-bhū-maṇḍala-rājya-bhāram = āvi(bi)bhrati **Çrī-Naya-**  
**pāla-dēvē** | vilikhyamānē daça-pañca-saṁ(ṅ)khyā-samvatsarē  
siddhim = agāc = ca kirttiḥ || [21].<sup>4</sup> ||

*Abstract of Contents.*

Om! Salutation to Vāsudēva. May Viṣṇu with his two wives, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, bless you (v. 1). The (town) Gaya where Brahmā has come to reside, and which is ornamented with high buildings, is praised as the unbarred door to salvation in this world (v. 2). There the loud reading of Veda-studying Brahmins makes talk hearable only with care; and the constant smoke of sacrificial fires makes it as if a hiding place for *dharmma* afraid of the *Kali-kāla* (iron age) (v. 3). In the Mahā-dviija family—ever the home of Lakṣmī on account of their virtues, and stainless as the *kunda* flower engrown by the autumnal moon—(v. 4), like Çiva was born Paritōṣa by name (v. 5); whose fame covered the whole world (v. 6). From him was born, like Nārāyaṇa, Çūdraka (v. 7). His fame spread over the three worlds (v. 8). From him was born Viçvāditya in whom the qualities hitherto found separate have combined (v. 9). Verses 10 to 16 sing the praises of Viçvāditya. Many chiefs arose on this earth, but none attained fulfilment so much as he (Viçvāditya) did by erecting a temple (*kirttana*) of Janārdana (v. 17). V. 18 describes the temple in high-flown language. May this *praçasti*, the words of the veterinary physician Sahadēva, find its place in the hearts of good men like fair ladies! (v. 19). By the artisan Çrīmat Satṭa-Sōma, son of Çrīmat Adhipa-Sōma, (this) fame in inscribing was obtained (v. 20). While Çrī-Nayapāla Dēva was ruling the whole world, this monument written in (his) fifteenth year attained completion (v. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Svāgatā.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Upajāti.



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